Bridging the Information Gaps: A Conference of Research on Asylum and Immigration in the UK

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Further copies of this conference report are available from:
Communication Development Unit
Room 201
50, Queen Anne's Gate
London
SW1H 9AT

Tel: 020 7273 2084
fax: 020 7222 0211
email publications.rds@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

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List of acronyms

AIRE Centre	Advice on Individual Rights in Europe
CRER	Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, Warwick
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ERA	Economic and Resource and Analysis Unit (Home Office)
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
HRA	Human Rights Act (1998)
IAA	Immigration Appellate Authority
IAS	Immigration Advisory Service
ICAR	Information Centre on Asylum and Refugees
ICU	Immigration and Community Unit (Home Office)
IGC	Inter Governmental Consultations (on asylum refugee and migration policies in Europe, North America and Australia)
ILPA	Immigration Law Practitioners' Association
IND	Immigration and Nationality Directorate (Home Office)
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
IRSS	Immigration Research and Statistics Service (Home Office)
IS	Immigration Service
JCWI	Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants
LCD	Lord Chancellor's Department
LSC	Legal Services Commission
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NASS	National Asylum Support Service
RDS	Research Development and Statistics Directorate (Home Office)
RLC	Refugee Legal Centre
RSC	Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford
RWRP	Refugee Women's Resource Project
UKCOSA	UKCOSA: The Council for International Education
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission(er) for Refugees

Introduction

I am pleased to introduce this report of the proceedings of the conference "Bridging the Information Gaps" which the Home Office Immigration Research and Statistics Service (IRSS) held on March 21st 2001. IRSS is currently developing a major programme of internal and external research and evaluation on immigration, asylum and integration issues to support the policy development and management of the Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND). The aim of the conference was to stimulate interest in this programme of research and to facilitate increased information-sharing among academics, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), Home Office researchers and others working in this area.

We are grateful to the many valuable contributors to the conference in both the plenary sessions and the workshops. The conference evaluation forms showed us that nearly all respondents indicated that they felt the day had been either 'quite' or 'very' valuable. In particular, the opportunities for networking and the attempt to set out the Home Office research agenda were rated highly by respondents. Overall, the conference appeared to be a well received first step.

The proceedings include contributions to the plenary sessions and the workshops. For reference, the conference programme is included (annex 1). A summary of our research programme for the current year can be found in annex 2. We produced a researcher contact list that also shows their areas of research interest, and this is included as annex 3. We plan to maintain this as a valuable resource, so if you would like to be included please send us your details and we will add them to our database. The IRSS contact list is included as annex 4 and reflects changes since March. The conference evaluation form, which was used to provide the feedback mentioned previously, is included in annex 5.

As emphasised in the conference, IRSS continues to commission further research on immigration, asylum and integration. Here is a brief summary of how we commission research:

- For the main programme: for each project we prepare a statement of the research requirement. This is issued to researchers we are aware of – or maybe generally – inviting them to tender for the work. Proposals are then considered under standard procurement rules for fairness and a decision is made. There may be some further negotiation or clarification to be achieved.

- In addition there is an opportunity for speculative proposals, i.e. those initiated by researchers. This is called our 'innovation' fund where proposals are invited once a year.

The RDS website holds a lot of information about RDS and our outputs. This includes research and statistical publications and information about our business plans and it will be further developed. The website address is http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds

The conference was the first step in engaging with the research and non-governmental community and our aim is to maintain and develop this dialogue. We were encouraged by the responses of attendees which welcomed this opportunity to participate and who asked for this to continue. We are addressing this question. In terms of future follow-ups, we would certainly consider larger events of some kind. We see a potential need for discussion and exchange of ideas on research topics, which could mean anything from small informal workshops or seminars on one theme (this was identified from the conference evaluation) to bigger events across a wider range of topics or possibly to a more on-going means of exchange. We would be interested in your ideas.

Peter Ward
Head
Immigration Research and Statistics Service (IRSS)

Keynote addresses

Stephen Boys-Smith
Director General, Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND)

This is the first conference of its kind, with around 90 participants from a wide range of academic institutions not only in the UK but also from elsewhere, for example Canada and the Netherlands, as well as international organisations, NGOs, government departments and other organisations such as the Law Society. We are all here because we have in common either that we are directly involved in delivering research on immigration or asylum issues or we work in organisations where that research is important to us for policy or for practice.

The objectives of this conference are two fold: to stimulate interest in the programme of research being developed by the Home Office; and also to facilitate the sharing of information amongst those who are working in this area whether researchers or policy makers or in one organisation or another.

"We are all here because we have in common either that we are directly involved in delivering research on immigration or asylum issues or we work in organisations where that research is important to us for policy or for practice."

As Head of IND I am acutely aware of the research and knowledge gap on immigration issues. As some of my colleagues have got bored with hearing me saying, it's a knowledge gap that would not be tolerated in other areas of Home Office business to do with, for example, criminal justice, and it is no longer in my view tolerable as regards immigration. We are now developing a research programme, we have got some money for it, and I am determined that that should be a long term activity, not just a flash in the pan, and therefore among other things we need to ensure that funds remain available over a considerable period to that end. This conference is a key early step and I hope that it will lead not only to an input from research to policy making but to that dialogue between researchers and policy makers which again is a feature of other areas of Home Office activity but hasn't so far had the basis on which to develop in the immigration field. The opening session is designed to give an overview of the policy and operational setting, and also to talk a little about that research programme as it stands at the moment.

Barbara Roche MP
Minister of State, Home Office

I was reflecting recently on the past period because I have been asked to make a speech to some immigration service managers, looking at what I thought were the highs and the lows during the period in which I have been the Minister in this area. I think that the biggest low during this period has been the complete lack of a proper coordinated and coherent debate on immigration and asylum, which is why I very much welcome today's proceedings.

The reason that this debate has been lacking is I feel partly because of the confusion between asylum and immigration. Some of this confusion is not deliberate but is due to in the way in which information has been given. I thought one of the biggest lows during that period was a MORI poll which, although it said some reasonable things and some hopeful things about race relations in this country, was very depressing about asylum and immigration. Sometimes this is due to misunderstanding because of the quality of information that is put out. However, sometimes there is an almost willful misunderstanding of the process.

So first of all in my view we have a confusion about the difference between asylum and migration; secondly there is a view of the subject which is too one-dimensional and portrays people as either one way or another; and also thirdly, because the subject is technically quite difficult, there are also some misunderstandings about the process itself.

So it is a difficult context that we are operating in, which is why I welcome today and why I welcome the fact that the conference has been so well supported not just within government but within the general research community and by NGOs as well. Although we are not going to agree on every policy that is put forward, if there can be some agreement on the research and information base then we will actually come to this in a much more-informed and constructive way.

"….it is a difficult context that we are operating in, which is why I welcome today and why I welcome the fact that the conference has been so well supported not just within government but within the general research community and by NGOs as well."

I was intrigued by what Stephen had to say about research and the lack of research in this area and that it wouldn't be tolerated in any other area of Home Office policy. This is borne out if you look at the development of immigration and nationality and asylum issues and the responsibilities of the Home Office. When doing some background reading for the speech I made at the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) in September 2000, I was struck by the information I read about the 1905 Aliens Act. When you read some of the academic articles of that time, it is clear that the Home Office of the day did not want to do anything at all with the implementation of that Act. They argued very coherently that immigration was not a matter for the Home Office, and that it was not central to Home Office policy, which is about criminal justice policy. I would strongly argue that one of the difficulties is that over the subsequent decades immigration still hasn't been seen as a core activity within the Home Office. However, I think that situation is now very different, that it has been changed by the debates of recent times and that immigration now is seen as a core activity and one that is very important.

I just want to say a few words about the context in which we are operating. It is one of great world changes, and changes that are seeing the driving through of migratory forces many of which we would argue result in unfounded asylum claims. Many of the changes that we see also result in people making asylum claims that are genuinely well-founded because of political instability and because they are genuinely in fear of persecution. We shouldn't be afraid to have a debate on these issues, and Jack Straw has opened up a debate about the way in which the UN Convention [on the Status of Refugees] operates. Regardless of people's views it is important to have this genuine debate and not to be locked into preconceptions about the way it always has been. This is important because at the end of the day the aim has got to be the same - the genuine protection of those who have a well-founded fear of persecution.

On the migration side it is very important that we get the discussion about asylum into context. One of the points I made last September was that in most of the years since the 1971 Immigration Act about 60,000 people have come quite legitimately and legally to settle in the United Kingdom each year. This is something that is not always recognised. What I really want to get out of today is support for our research programme to find out what drives these migratory forces, what are the consequences, and how we can deal with the situation. I also want to take forward the Home Office's work on legal migration and trying to separate it from asylum. By that I don't mean that there is no connection at all, of course there is a connection. But in my own mind immigration and asylum are completely separate things and I certainly look forward to a situation where we can have a proper and rational debate about both.

I was startled a few weeks ago to read a whole page article in the *Mail on Sunday* devoted to migration. The headline of that article said 'No Mrs. Roche, we are not a country of migrants'. That is an approach that I strongly reject because I do think we are a country of migrants. I think Britain is a much much stronger country for it and I look forward to the research that will show that I am right and that article was wrong.

Peter Ward
Head,
Immigration Research and Statistics Service (IRSS)

I'd like to give my own welcome to the distinguished assembly of researchers present here today. It is pleasing and encouraging to see such a strong interest in this important subject. The purpose of this presentation is to outline the objectives for today, to give an overview of the research agenda, to say what progress we've made so far, and where we go from here.

Immigration and asylum policy has had to confront increasingly demanding challenges. The Home Office has assumed new responsibilities, such as for asylum support, and it is now implementing a major programme of change. While the Home Office has undertaken a lot of research on the ethnic minority populations in the UK, and in particular their relationship with the Criminal Justice System, little research has been undertaken to support immigration policy. We have now set up a new research capability. There are eleven social science trained staff on this work and two economics staff. Most joined only last summer. We recognise that a considerable amount of research work has been undertaken in this country and elsewhere. The challenge is to achieve effective partnership so as to harness all this knowledge and expertise.

"The challenge is to achieve effective partnership so as to harness all this knowledge and expertise."

So the objectives for the conference are to give you a better understanding of our research agenda and of how research can contribute to the policy process; and for us to improve our knowledge of your areas of expertise and interest and to listen to your ideas. The organisation of the day is geared to these objectives. So there's relatively little emphasis on the discussion of specific research findings and methods. We've started also to participate in research conferences. Among these I've personally particularly valued the Metropolis ones – we'll be hearing more about them later. Before turning to the research agenda, I'd like to say something about our statistical work. As elsewhere in RDS the statistical and social research work is closely integrated, and it's particularly important in this field.

Statistics

The statistics work goes back many years. We continue to undertake a lot of statistical work to support immigration and asylum policy and operation. The focus was previously on the figures for persons accepted for settlement and in particular on the categories of immigration from the Indian Sub Continent and the entry clearance processes. The focus on asylum has developed over the past decade, and these high profile statistics are now published each month on the website. Statistics of asylum support are now under development. Some of our work is internal and is not published: for example, statistics of switching between immigration categories after entry to the UK. We've also developed a model for the financial planning of asylum support costs, which has proved very useful as IND's plans evolved. We've also published some forecasts of settlement and of asylum applications.

We would expect to see developments in three areas:

- First, information giving reliable international comparisons is becoming more important. The Office for National Statistics already publishes well-established statistics of international migration. In addition we are contributing to the publication of European statistics of asylum applications by the IGC and UNHCR. The requirement, however, extends to comparable statistics of asylum decisions and of enforcement outcomes, but these are proving much more difficult to achieve. We are likely to see Eurostat increasing its role in this area.

- Secondly, we can expect that improved IT systems which IND is developing to support casework and operations will enable us to provide better quality and richer statistics about casework. We already analyse much data using individual person data. One requirement is for systematic information about the immigration history of individuals and new IT developments will achieve progress towards this objective.

- Thirdly, there are many gaps in the social statistics about the experiences and impact of immigrants, particularly in distinguishing different types of immigrant. For example, asylum seekers are poorly identified in the general social statistics. While extensive statistical information has been built up about the major ethnic groups, and this is immensely valuable in tracking their experiences over many years, this grouping does not measure the experiences of recent immigrants. We now find that of the ethnic minority population over half are British citizens. The Labour Force Survey is already an important source. The 2001 Census will be an invaluable source of local area data, both by ethnic origin and by country of birth. We will be looking at longer-term developments of the social statistics but this involves the statistics of other departments so progress will be more difficult to achieve

Research themes

I'd now like to talk about the research themes we are pursuing. They come from three major drivers:

- First, the immigration and asylum systems are currently undergoing a huge volume of change. The requirement is to support IND in analysing and evaluating the outcomes so as to improve their effectiveness and to contribute to policy development;

- Secondly, to fill longer-term knowledge gaps and thereby underpin the further development of policy. This is particularly important given the relative lack of research in the field;

- Thirdly, to address the research agenda which the Minister of State launched when she gave the speech in September about UK migration in a global economy.

The first two themes identified in the conference pack are:

1. The changes arising from the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 and White Paper.
2. The major expansion of enforcement capability and detention capacity in the coming year.

Research will help address how well the changes are meeting their objectives, and can inform future policy or operational development. This will supplement management's own appraisals and what the management information is showing. We expect to undertake four or five projects including arrangements for the provision

of legal advice to asylum seekers; the asylum determination process; aspects of the new appeals system; and the Voluntary Assisted Returns Programme. The work is likely to be a mixture of internal research and externally contracted work.

Asylum support and refugee integration

As many of you will know, refugee resettlement (as it was called) is the subject of previous Home Office research, most recently by Jenny Carey-Wood, Karen Duke, Tony Marshall and others. However, the new responsibilities for asylum support and refugee integration give rise to an extensive new agenda:

- Are the support arrangements achieving their policy goals – support for otherwise destitute asylum seekers; dispersal to regions; and relieving pressure on the South East; contribution to deterring unfounded claims; containing support costs?
- How well does the system meet asylum seekers' needs? An example of this has been our contribution to the review of the voucher system to be published in due course.
- What is the impact on the receiving local areas?
- Integration of refugees
  - what works drawing on international experience;
  - what are the indicators by which success is to be judged?

Again a mixture of internal and external research.

Knowledge gaps about asylum

More information is needed to support asylum policy development:

- the characteristics, circumstances and motivations of asylum seekers, recognising that they reflect a very wide range of circumstances;
- what influences their decisions and choices in particular the effect of policy and operational factors; what are their sources of information about conditions and entitlements in receiving countries?

A variety of methods is envisaged. We have commissioned initial literature surveys and obviously aim to take advantage of a number of previous studies. For the future we anticipate more in-depth studies. We would welcome collaborative work with EU partners. We have also commissioned a feasibility study to develop a survey of asylum seekers. If it is feasible such a survey could provide valuable representative information for the first time on a range of topics.

Illegal population

Even more challenging, there is a policy requirement for information about the illegal population. What are their circumstances and motivations; how do they support themselves; how large a population is it and, in such a diverse grouping, what are the main sectors of the population? We are in the early feasibility stages of this work, but it is already clear that it will require a variety of different approaches in what must be a long term piece of work.

The new immigration debate

The Minister referred to the speech she gave in September in which she described the economic benefits to the UK of immigration and called for a debate on a modern immigration policy. Many of you will have read the Home Office research publication 'Migration: an economic and social analysis'. This was prepared with the help of the Performance and Innovation Unit at the Cabinet Office. The European Commission also called for a debate in its recent communication on a Community Immigration Policy and this covered many of the same themes. These call for further research and we are now developing a cross-departmental programme to fill gaps in our knowledge:

"It is very clear that the research community has a lot to offer in helping us take forward this programme. The rest of the day is the initial step in the process."

- more extensive analysis of labour market outcomes and the factors that are associated with success
- the fiscal impact of migrants
- the social outcomes of migrants and their impacts at local and national levels, for example in terms of housing, education and other services; also the wider social impact
- a more thorough understanding of international experience of different policy approaches and evaluating the UK's recent changes in this area
- integration policy – research into what works; what the effects are of such factors as language fluency, education and non-UK qualifications.

This is a major programme. It involves both the Immigration Research and Statistics Service and RDS's Economic and Resource Analysis Unit.

Finally, how are we approaching the task? You already have information about our current work. Aspects I would highlight:

- systematic reviews of literature relevant to policy questions
- importance of knowing what policies and practices are followed in other countries and identifying the lessons for the UK
- mixture of internal research and externally contracted research. In the past (part) year we commissioned about £350,000 research contracts and funding for the coming year has been substantially increased
- multi-disciplinary and using a diversity of approaches and methods
- collaboration with other Government departments, agencies in the UK, European Government researchers and other international co-ordinating bodies
- involving the UK research community.

It is very clear that the research community has a lot to offer in helping us take forward this programme. The rest of the day is the initial step in the process.

David Moxon
Research Development and Statistics Directorate (RDS)

History

Research on crime has a very long history. The first known grant for research into social and penal matters dates back exactly 200 years – in 1801 The Treasury advanced £500 for a study involving interviews with the poor in London. It was triggered by concern about inner city crime, so one has to conclude that it didn't come up with a lasting solution to the problem. It was another 150 years before the Home Office made its first grant for research, and in 1952 Cambridge received £250 from the Home Office as part of a programme of research on young offenders. This really marked the awakening of interest in criminology as an aid to policy development.

It was in the early 1950s that the Home Office came to recognise the need for a coherent programme of research, particularly on the effectiveness of penal treatment. The growing interest in criminology cut across party lines, but it was a Tory Home Secretary, R A Butler, who set up the research unit in 1957. Butler had been struck by the lack of information needed to justify the expenditure on prisons and penal policy in general. Soon after, Butler was approached by the Howard League for Penal Reform asking him to support the establishment of an Institute of Criminology, which he did.

The Home Office Research Unit owed its foundation to widespread concern to identify the best ways of tackling the many problems of crime. The age of evidence as a driver of policy had arrived. While crime has continued to attract most of the research funding hitherto, the need for evidence as the basis of policy has increasingly been recognised in other areas. This has been given a further boost by the setting of explicit aims for the Home Office. This is a process that demands both measurement of progress towards departmental goals and clear and rigorous evidence about the ways in which policy can best contribute to the outcomes sought.

I would not wish to overstate the strength of the link between evidence and policy. As Douglas Hurd remarked when he was Home Secretary:

> *'I would not pretend that the relationship between the politician and the social scientist is always an easy one. Inevitably there are times when the researcher considers that his findings point down one path but policy follows another. Research findings are an important input to policy decisions. But Ministers are subject to many other influences and constraints. They must have regard for the views of the courts, police and all others within the system, as well as public opinion, the media, pressure groups and – most important of all – Parliament.'*

But it would be easy to exaggerate the tension. Since resources are finite no one disputes the need to use them to the best possible effect.

Developing research and forging partnerships

Research has served Ministers well over the years, and the broadening out of research to neglected areas is not before time. Evidence is sometimes generated by researchers working independently of government, and their role can be important – not least because they can sometimes go down paths where governments fear to tread. But the experience from the criminological side is that through various forms of partnership we can generate evidence that will most readily influence future policy and practice. The most common model is where we develop a project specification and invite tenders. Different projects call for different skills and resources, and this is reflected in the range of contractors we use. So, for example, a large-scale project to do with improving the way the criminal justice system operates might best be done by a consultancy. Ernst and Young did a major study of delays in the courts, which is resulting in substantial changes in the way the prosecution process operates. But often we turn to universities or independent researchers for specific subject expertise, or particular technical skills.

"….the experience from the criminological side is that through various forms of partnership we can generate evidence that will most readily influence future policy and practice."

Much of the work that is driving the drugs reduction agenda, to take one example, is being done by universities. Information about the link between drugs and crime and about what works in terms of treatment both inside and outside prison has played a key role in the development of programmes which are attracting hundreds of millions of pounds in funding. Such contracts work best when there is clarity about the objectives – what behaviour we are trying to change in the real world – and when they are managed by researchers who understand both the topic and the technical issues. One of the more heartening aspects of a generally depressing market testing exercise we went through a few years ago was that external researchers said they preferred doing work for the Home Office than for other departments because the people who managed Home Office research were practising researchers, not just managers. The other positive thing that came out of it was that no external bidder for taking over our research capacity was prepared to do it without taking over many of the staff as well. Our cumulative experience of social research amounted to more than 400 person years, and this could not be discarded without serious damage to the research operation. So having a substantial research capacity within the Home Office helps you, helps the Home Office – and keeps us in business!

Where a project is fully contracted out, there is a continuing partnership to help ensure that quality is maintained and that findings are presented in such a way that busy policy colleagues and ministers can quickly grasp the implications of the work. There will be times when we may challenge the robustness of conclusions, or may call for clearer or more concise drafting. That is simply part of our role if reports are to have the influence they should. We seek to balance the need to keep research projects on track with the need to avoid undue interference, and it is frankly an area where we continue to learn from experience. The more trust and expertise build up, the better. We would rather be doing our own research than interfering unnecessarily with yours. But bear with us, as we may have a better eye for the elephant traps that research reports can fall into once policy colleagues and ministers get their hands on them.

Much work is done in direct partnership. Sometimes this is with companies such as BMRB or the National Centre for Social Research who undertake interviews for major surveys such as the Youth Lifestyles Survey, the British Crime Survey, or surveys of witness satisfaction. Here, though, the split is between those who gather the data and we who analyse it. But we also undertake more direct collaboration where our researchers work alongside others, typically in universities. A variation on this theme involves secondments between ourselves and (most often) universities. We plan to encourage further secondments in both directions in the future.

From evidence to influence

Much the biggest single demand for research has been the work launched by the present Government as part of its first Comprehensive Spending Review. They asked us to draw on evidence from Britain and around the world about what works to cut crime. This resulted in an evidence-based programme, to be carefully evaluated, spanning the whole range of crime reduction measures. It covered everything from better locks to more effective sentencing; from early intervention with young children to help through the teenage years. £250 million was provided for the main Crime Reduction Programme with 10 per cent of that available for evaluation.

Research reports are often greeted with claims that they merely confirm the obvious, or alternatively, when the results run counter to what people had expected, that they must have got it wrong. It would be all too easy to conclude that reports just gather dust, and have little impact on real life, so it may help to give a few concrete examples of how research has changed things.

- Despite all the fuss over police numbers, in many forces police officers patrol in pairs. Not only does that mean half as much ground is covered, but it also means that they talk to each other rather than engaging with the public. The point was made in Criminal Justice: The Way Forward, which was published in mid-March.

- The British Crime Survey showed that many injuries resulting from assaults are made worse by the fact that broken beer glasses are used. This has led to the introduction in some areas of unbreakable glass.

- If you park your car in a public car park it will survive untouched on average for 200 days. Put it in your garage, and will be safe for about 200 years.

- A study in Huddersfield involved noting the registration numbers of cars in disabled parking bays. A quarter of illegally parked cars called for immediate police action, for example because the car was stolen or the owner was wanted by the police. The proportion of cars requiring such action was 12 times as high as for legally parked cars. So if you want some quick wins in tracking down villains, head for the nearest disabled parking bays.

- It was a team of academic researchers that made one of the most important discoveries of recent years through secondary analysis of the British Crime Survey. They discovered the extent of repeat victimisation – for example that having been burgled recently was a very good predictor of being burgled again soon. So one way of cutting burglary is to improve security in houses that have just been burgled. After all, as far as the burglar is concerned, he knows his way round the house and having just taken your video there will be a nice new one next month.

A recent publication, 'Not Rocket Science', published in the Crime Reduction Research Series, gave some nice examples of local experiments that had failed as well as some that had succeeded. Among the successes:

- On one troubled estate, league football games were introduced. This involved 150 children during the summer holidays, and more as spectators. If a team member got into trouble with the police, his team lost points. So there was strong peer pressure to behave. The level of holiday nuisance and disorder was lower than in the previous 5 years.

- In another area, prescribed methadone was leaking onto the drugs market and there were a number of deaths. Pressure was put on doctors to change their prescribing practices and, after initial resistance, accidental deaths from methadone fell from 11 at the outset to zero three years on.

Sometimes, though, people can be a bit too eager.

- One local council took seriously the national message about arson in schools, and introduced a scheme designed to tackle it. This had no impact at all: there were no arson attacks at that particular school before the experiment, and none during it! This neatly illustrates the need to check out the local situation rather than jumping in blind. Every area has plenty of problems to deal with, without wasting its energies on ones it hasn't got.

Much of the work on the crime reduction side has fed into the production of toolkits. These are to help the Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships to achieve their goals. The aim is to transfer know-how to the partnerships charged with developing local strategies and to help create the conditions for effective measures to spread and new ideas to flourish. The key elements are to understand the problem – for example, for vehicle crime, is the local problem worse than elsewhere? Are stolen cars recovered? Are they being taken for joyriding or resale? Are there hotspots – particular streets or car parks that keep getting hit? What types of vehicles are being stolen?

"It is our job to help the Home Office achieve its disparate aims and spend public money wisely. We hope those of you from the research community who have joined us today will see it as your job to help us do that."

Knowing the problem is the first step to solving it. Recently, Cleveland achieved a 60 per cent cut in the thefts of white vans in local hotspots. It was able to do this because it recorded where and when the problem was arising, and what types of vehicle were being targeted. So it used decoy vans which enabled the police to cut off the fuel supply and lock the vehicle with the thief inside. This is a classic example of where the problem has been properly identified, a 'what works' solution has been applied, and the results have been evaluated so that others can consider whether it would help in their circumstances. It is a basic pattern that applies in many research contexts.

In conclusion

The key message I want to leave you with is this. No one, now, would dream of developing policies to cut crime without reference to the evidence. It would be like driving a car with the steering wheel removed – you would still know where you wanted to get to but you would have to depend on luck as to whether you headed in the right direction. It is our job to help the Home Office achieve its disparate aims and spend public money wisely. We hope those of you from the research community who have joined us today will see it as your job to help us do that.

Jeff Crisp
Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR, Geneva

This conference is intended to focus on the issues of asylum and immigration. And I want to start from the assumption that UNHCR is a significant actor in this policy domain. It is arguably not as significant as it used to be. And it is almost certainly not as significant as its staff members like to think that it is. But it is significant nevertheless, in the sense that the policy positions adopted by UNHCR, the public statements that it makes and the way it conducts its business are of direct interest to researchers, practitioners and policymakers dealing with refugee, asylum and migration issues. I would also argue that what UNHCR does is of particular significance at the present moment. On one hand, this is because we appear to have reached a decisive and a disturbing point in the history of refugee protection and the international refugee regime. In one or two recent papers, I have introduced the notion of humanitarian pessimism, arguing that those of us who deal with refugee and humanitarian issues invariably focus on negative trends, developments and situations, and are much less interested in those that have a more positive character. While I continue to believe that this is a valid observation, it has to be said that the current state of refugee protection does not leave too much room for optimism, whichever part of the world you are looking at. And that, unfortunately, includes the United Kingdom. On the other hand, I would argue that UNHCR is of particular significance at this moment in time for the simple reason that we have a new High Commissioner in office: Mr. Ruud Lubbers, the former Prime Minister of the Netherlands. And there is already some evidence to suggest that Mr. Lubbers will take the organisation in some directions that are significantly different from those of his predecessor, Mrs. Sadako Ogata.

So what I would like to do is to give you some indication of where UNHCR might be heading over the next few years. Then, within that overall framework, I would like to look more specifically at a number of developments within UNHCR that may affect the organisation's relationship with you and the work you are doing. I will be speaking in a personal rather than an official capacity, and I will endeavour to be as open and honest as possible in my description of current developments within UNHCR.

To begin with, then, let us turn to the big picture. What kind of organisation is UNHCR likely to become over the next two or three years? To answer that question, we first have to look at the legacy that the new High Commissioner has inherited. Perhaps the most evident characteristic of UNHCR at the moment is its financial instability. During the early and mid 1990s, of course, the funding provided to UNHCR by donor states rose very rapidly, largely as a result of emergencies and anticipated population displacements in regions such as the Balkans, the Great Lakes region of Africa and the former Soviet Union. Over the past three years, however, the gap between UNHCR's approved budget and the amount it can actually raise from those governments that approve the budget has steadily grown – culminating at the end of last year in a shortfall of some $200 million. In addition to its financial difficulties, UNHCR has encountered a growing external critique, promulgated by a somewhat unholy alliance of donor states, NGOs and academic commentators. While the interests and objectives of these various actors would appear to be quite different, they have been singing a very similar tune in their analysis of UNHCR.

Their argument can be summarised as follows. First, UNHCR has become excessively involved in activities that lie beyond the organisation's mandate. These include, for example, operations for internally displaced persons, as well as medium-term reintegration and rehabilitation programmes in countries that are emerging from war. Second, UNHCR has become excessively involved in the provision of material assistance, and as a result has neglected its primary function, namely that of providing international protection to refugees. Third, to address these problems, UNHCR should reduce the scale and scope of its activities, focus on the task of protection and allow other humanitarian organisations, especially NGOs, to assume responsibility for assistance programmes. Time does not allow me to provide any kind of commentary on this increasingly popular analysis. Suffice it to say that such arguments, in combination with the financial pressures that I have already described, seem to have put UNHCR on the defensive. This was epitomised by a recent remark made by the High Commissioner, when he emphasised the need to implement the French principle of 'reculer pour mieux sauter'. While the phrase does not have a precise English equivalent, it can be roughly translated as: retreating in order to advance.

What will this principle mean in practice? At the moment, it is not totally clear. But on the basis of the information available so far, we can anticipate a number of developments. First, a significant reduction of UNHCR's staffing level. Second, a new concentration of the organisation's resources on what are described as 'core activities', such as refugee protection, and a corresponding withdrawal from 'non-core' activities such as IDP programmes and community-based reintegration programmes. Third, a potential reduction of UNHCR's presence in developed regions, especially western Europe and North America. Fourth, an active attempt to leave operational activities to other agencies, allowing UNHCR to focus on the tasks of standard setting and coordination. And finally, a new emphasis on the role of UNHCR as a multilateral institution, supported financially and politically by a broad cross section of states, rather than one which relies very heavily on a small number of states: the USA, Japan, the Nordic countries, the Netherlands and the UK.

Having provided a rough sketch of UNHCR's potential future, I would like to move on to a number of more specific initiatives which the organisation is currently taking and which might be of interest to the researchers and practitioners gathered here.

First, I would like to draw your attention to the Global Consultations on International Protection, the purpose of which is 'to revitalise the international refugee protection regime'. To explain the background to this initiative, let me quote from one official UNHCR document:

> *The decision to propose these consultations was prompted by the realization that international refugee protection is at a crossroads. While the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol continue to be widely acknowledged as the bedrock of international protection, there is, nonetheless, a growing disillusionment among states about the relevance of the Convention-based refugee protection regime…*

'In these circumstances,' it continues, 'a real danger exists that the 1951 Convention regime could be marginalized, the refugee protection regime could become fragmented, the universality of UNHCR's protection role could diminish and, eventually, that fundamental protection principles could disintegrate.' To address this situation, UNHCR has invited governments, NGOs and refugee experts to take part in a consultation process over the next two years, involving a number of round-table meetings in different parts of the world, as well as discussions within the framework of UNHCR's Executive Committee.

For those of you who are engaged in research on refugee issues, an important feature of the global consultations process will be the production of around 50 research and discussion papers, covering

everything from the cessation to exclusion clauses, to reception standards for asylum seekers in the European Union, to gender-related persecution, to housing and property restitution for returning refugees and a host of other issues. It is a very broad agenda, and one of the reservations that have been expressed about the Global Consultations process, from both outside and within UNHCR, is that they are simply too diffuse and all-encompassing in nature. Another critique, most actively voiced by the human rights community, is that governments will find it very easy to participate in the Global Consultations, to express their undying support for the 1951 Convention and the principles of international refugee protection, and then violate those very same principles when it comes to the way they deal with refugees and asylum seekers in their day-to-day practice. As concerned researchers, you could play a useful role in monitoring – and exposing – any gaps between the rhetoric and the practice of states in this respect. One of the other themes to be covered by the Global Consultations process is that which UNHCR is describing as 'the nexus or the interface between asylum and migration'. And it is to that subject that I want to turn now.

Until the 1990s, UNHCR rarely made any reference to the issue of international migration in its public statements or policy documents. Indeed, the organisation made a conscious effort to maintain a sharp distinction between refugees and other types of international migrants, so as to underline the special status and protection needs of its beneficiaries. During Mrs Ogata's period of office, this position gradually softened, and the notions of migration and migration management gradually found its way into the UNHCR vocabulary. In part, this can be explained in terms of the expansionist tendencies of UNHCR during the 1990s, and its efforts to address refugee problems within the broader context of issues such as human rights, human security, development, peacekeeping and international migration. At the same time, the shift in UNHCR's position can be attributed to changes in the pattern of international migration and the growing belief amongst governments, the public and within UNHCR itself that substantial numbers of people seek asylum in other countries not because they are in need of protection, but because they want to improve their standard of living and wish to circumvent established forms of immigration control. Thus increasingly in UNHCR we refer to the phenomenon of 'asylum migration' – referring to the movement of people whose objective is to seek asylum in another state, whether or not they deserve or are eventually granted that status.

Significantly, one of Mrs Ogata's last major initiatives before she left office was to establish an internal Working Group on Asylum and Migration to examine the nexus between these two issues. While the report of that Working Group is currently an internal document, I hope that it will soon be placed in the public domain. As scholars, you may find the report to be of interest, both as a source of information and as a source of research ideas and policy proposals. Entering the realm of informed speculation again, I believe that the working group's report may lead to the establishment of some kind of focal point on asylum and migration issues within UNHCR, a primary function of which will be to improve the collection, analysis and sharing of information within UNHCR on migration-related issues. It may also act as a contact point with academic, non-governmental, and international organisations involved in this policy domain.

In this respect, there are three recent developments that may be of interest to you: first, the decision to establish a Migration Policy and Research Programme within the International Organization for Migration; second, the expansion of the International Migration Policy Programme, a Geneva-based initiative that provides training on migration and asylum issues to government officials around the world; and third, the establishment of a new research programme in the UN University in Helsinki, Finland, focusing on the linkages between poverty, irregular migration and refugee movements. I would be happy to provide you with further details of these developments.

Finally, I'd like to conclude with a few comments about the role of research within UNHCR. UNHCR is evidently not itself a research organisation. But it does have a serious interest in research undertaken by others. And it does in fact undertake quite a wide range of research itself, much of which is published and placed in the public domain. An interesting point about many of our activities and publications is that they entail the extensive involvement of academic researchers and independent consultants. Indeed, I think it would be true to say that considerably more research is done for UNHCR than is done by UNHCR. In that respect, the 'researcher/practitioner gap' that we frequently lament at refugee-related conferences may not actually be so much of a problem as it is often made out to be.

UNHCR is certainly keen to foster its relationship with the academic and research world, and in the past two or three years we have taken a number of steps to facilitate that task. These include:

- opening UNHCR's archives to academic researchers
- declassifying all evaluation reports prepared since the late 1970s, and making a firm commitment to placing all new evaluation reports in the public domain
- making our grey literature collection available to visiting researchers
- increasing the amount and quality of the statistical data we publish
- launching the series 'New Issues in Refugee Research', which provides an additional outlet for scholarly studies
- finally and most recently, UNHCR has established a Research Committee, so as to ensure better coordination amongst the different parts of the organisation engaged in research activities.

I would be interested to know if you have any additional proposals that might enhance the way we work together in the areas of research, policy analysis, evaluation and data collection.

UNHCR research and publications

- Operational research/evaluation (EPAU)
- Legal research (DIP)
- Policy research (EPAU and DIP)
- Country of origin research (CDR)
- Statistical research (DOS)
- Archival research (ARU)
- Collaborative research (SSRC, Carnegie, UNU)

Evaluation reports

- 'New Issues in Refugee Research'
- 'Refugee Survey Quarterly'
- Writenet (country of origin) reports
- 'The State of the World's Refugees'
- 'Populations of concern to UNHCR'

Nick Hardwick
Chief Executive, Refugee Council

The organisations represented here may have their disagreements about policy, but one of the things that has happened in recent years is that those disagreements are now carried out in a much more open atmosphere than was the case before, and I for one certainly welcome that. I was talking to some colleagues the other day – and I'm not making a party political point here – but we were saying at one level how much easier life was under the previous government because you didn't really need to get into a dialogue with them. You just shouted your points of view at each other and of course there were various inconvenient facts that we all ignored, like the low number of removals. In fact you didn't really need to engage in any process of debate at all. Now we do have to do that. It makes life for people like me much more complicated than was the case before, but I do think it is important that we have those debates based on evidence in an open way. Those of us who are concerned to uphold the standards of refugee protection can't run away from the debates or try and close them down as they are taking place so vigorously in the media and elsewhere. We have to take some of those issues head on, be open to the arguments and defeat them where appropriate with the strength and the evidence that backs up our own position.

That's a difficult thing to do because there is an apparent paucity of good quality evidence on which we can base our views. Outside of government I must be one of the people who is most commonly called on by the media to comment on refugee and asylum issues. Frankly, on lots of the most basic questions I feel I am skating on very thin ice indeed. I get asked all the time – How many refugees are there? Why do they come to the UK? How do we compare with other countries? What do you think would improve the situation? What I do is make informed guesses based on evidence from some of the people we see at the Refugee Council. We really don't have very much hard evidence to back up any kind of answers on those points, and in the end this does diminish the whole quality of the policy making process. This is again why it's very gratifying to be here today in front of so many researchers.

I don't have a big research programme to talk about but I do have a long list of questions to which I would like answers. I hope some of you might be able to provide them. So I want to concentrate my remarks on some of the questions that we would like answered and then talk about how the refugee community can work with researchers and with government to try and find some of the answers.

The big unanswered question for me is how is all this going to look in 20 years' time: how the policies that are being enacted at the moment will be judged in future. What is going to be the impact of what we are doing now? If we have a policy or a series of policies whose consequences are to exclude a significant number of people from mainstream society, what will be the impact of that in 20 years' time? Is anyone even asking the question and trying to find out? Many policy decisions seem to be made at the moment with one eye on the next newspaper headline rather than a long term perspective of how these things will work out through succeeding years. Somebody needs to be looking at some of the long-term consequences of these policies. If we can't find the evidence to base some of our policy decisions on today, people may well look back on us in future and say that our decisions were based on unfounded prejudices, just as we think that people who made decisions in the 1960s, 1970s and the first decade of the last century did.

One of the big questions is how many refugees are there? Despite the wealth of research and statistics, we don't really know the answer. So the *Daily Mirror* – that well known journal at the cutting edge of research – can blithely claim there are about two and half million refugees living in the UK today – that was on 17 December. It ought to be relatively easy to rebut that kind of outlandish claim, but then they might come back to us and say how many are there then, how do you know? That would be quite a difficult question to answer and indeed it would be quite difficult even to come up with a common definition of what we mean by a refugee. I don't mean by that the legal definition, but how long does somebody stay a refugee after they've got their refugee status? The Refugee Council runs an old people's home mainly for refugees who came from Eastern Europe at the mid point of the last century. One old lady who lives there fled as a small child. Now is she still a refugee? Is she part of the Mirror's two and half million or, after the passage of years, is she something else now? That is why in terms of counting the numbers we need to get the answer to the question how many refugees are there.

"...looking at all of you here today, all interested or actively involved in carrying out research in this field, I see the wealth of experience and expertise that already exists. What has been missing though is effective co-ordination and that's why I welcome this event as such a useful initial step."

Then there are some questions about current policy implementation. Probably all the NGOs represented here would argue that the way to improve the kind of decision making process is to front-load it, to invest in good quality initial decisions based on an assessment of each case on its individual merits. We argue that this would make the system more efficient and fairer, and in the end speedier. This argument needs to be further tested through well evaluated pilot projects. We would also like to see further research on the use of detention, especially the ethnic or national origin of those detained, and the different effects on the individual of being in a prison as opposed to a detention centre. The government has erected a whole edifice around asylum support, spending hundreds of millions of pounds on it, based on the assumption that a key driver for people coming to the UK with unfounded asylum claims is the level of the support they will receive compared with other potential destinations. A problem with this assumption is that I've never seen any serious evidence to suggest that this is the case.

We need to find better ways of involving refugees and refugee community organisations in any research undertaken. However, we need to remember that there is a danger that refugees can feel researched out. More importantly they often feel there are few tangible improvements despite their involvement. For example, the barriers to employment for refugees have been well researched and documented but there is scant evidence that these barriers are being removed. Whilst this is clearly not the fault of the research it needs to be backed by the political will to change policy.

In conclusion, looking at all of you here today, all interested or actively involved in carrying out research in this field, I see the wealth of experience and expertise that already exists. What has been missing though is effective co-ordination and that's why I welcome this event as such a useful initial step.

Roger Zetter
School of Planning, Oxford Brookes University

We have had a number of metaphors about the purpose of this conference – bridging the gap, beginning the road of research on asylum and immigration policies. To continue those metaphors, one of the reasons I have been asked to speak is because I have been leading a team conducting one of the first research commissions by the Home Office to bridge this gap and better inform policy through research. My brief is not to present the findings of the project itself, *An Assessment of the Impact of Asylum Policies in Europe: A Feasibility Study.* Rather, my objectives are: to focus more on the process of conducting time-limited, contract-driven policy research; to provide some initial reflections on the experience and challenges of the research; to assess the way in which we worked with the Home Office as research contractors; and to share that experience with those who may be researching for the Home Office in future. The final report, in two volumes, was only recently submitted so it is premature to assess the impact of the research.

I have been passed a slightly poisoned chalice. If I am too critical of the relationship we have had with the Home Office, then we may well exclude ourselves from any future tendering! On the other hand, if I suggest the relationship has been very compatible and effective, as indeed it has, then my academic colleagues will berate me for being co-opted into the Home Office agenda and not retaining my independence as a researcher.

The research context

A brief outline of the context of the research highlights several characteristics. It was a very large-scale project running for five months from October 2000. It was extensive in scope; we were requested to look at all the European partners. And it was extensive in time scale; we provided a chronology of policy development since 1990. We were asked to assess in detail a number of countries, identified in the tender documents – Germany, the Netherlands and the UK. We felt it important to broaden that scope – in retrospect rather unwisely because it substantially increased the workload – and so we also built into that study Sweden and Italy. We considered that it was particularly important to have a southern European country because the conceptualization of the nature of asylum and immigration policy is so different. Yet at the same time the southern EU states are key to the asylum routes into Europe and it was important to build in that dimension.

The main challenge, we concluded, was to provide a coherent framework for assessing the diversity of material, time series and data bases. Lacking was a systematic format to compare research findings among countries, and to elaborate the impacts of policy changes which this growing body of research had investigated. We developed a series of indicators to evaluate impacts. The study was largely based on archival sources and reviewed an enormous amount of published literature and research available in paper and electronic form. It was not based on primary data collection, although we carried out some limited fieldwork in the UK, the Netherlands and Germany, interviewing government officials, academics and NGOs to corroborate.

As the title indicates, the project was both an assessment and a feasibility study for future work in this area. This constituted an opportunity, but also a critical challenge. From the inception of the project, we were to some extent researching an open-ended agenda rather than a finite set of questions or policies. At the same time, the underlying challenge was to decide how this research study interfaced with the political context and the policy making requirements which underpinned it. We had to delineate and distinguish between the scope of the research as a research project, and the scope of the research in terms of informing policy needs; but it was also the challenge to develop an appropriate methodology. Central to our approach was to reflect on how the volatile issue of asylum seekers is politically encoded in the UK. That in itself was part of the stimulus for the research. Were we looking at 'policy failure'? Many of us would feel policy has failed and politicians might feel it has failed as well, but for very different reasons than the research and refugee advocacy communities would judge. Was the project about the recalcitrance of the asylum seeking process to policy initiatives over the last ten years and a latent agenda to find ways of reinforcing restrictionism? Or was it to try and understand, in more detail, the political encoding in different countries of the European Union? This is critical because the nature of the asylum process, despite gradual harmonisation over the last decade, is still encoded and conceptualized very differently. That is an important research question in itself and obviously a major challenge for policy makers. Was it to look at the specificity of particular instruments? Certainly that was a key part of the project, together with the administrative capacity of different countries to translate asylum policy into specific tools and instruments to manage the process. Or was the project essentially monitoring what had happened?

In a sense, all these questions overlap. They raise an obvious and manifest agenda which the tender document implied. But our difficulty was to get behind that and find the entry points to investigate the latent agenda implied by those two key words 'assessment' and 'feasibility'. So, whilst the open-ended nature of the project presented opportunities, it simultaneously presented considerable difficulties in establishing the research intentions of the clients and how we could best present a very large scale study, reviewing diverse impacts of policies over a long time series and over a large number of countries.

Procedural and operational aspects

Moving on from the context I now want to reflect on the research task itself and our experience of procedural and operational aspects and then, in the third section, to assess some of the more substantive experiences. The intention here is to provide guidance, from both these perspectives, which will benefit future researchers.

First, in terms of the procedural operational requirements, an essential prerequisite was the ability to mobilise rapidly a very large study concentrated in the short timescale of five months. We had the advantage of: systems within the university which allowed for fast tracking research proposals; signing them off at the various levels within the institution; being able to call up a good research team very quickly; having good administrative and financial management systems in place. Certainly within Oxford Brookes University, and in particular within my own School of Planning, we have a lot of experience of conducting consultancy research for government agencies – primarily with the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions. It is a very different kind of research process, in terms of tendering process, mobilisation and so on, compared with funded research by the main research funding institutions. My advice would be to ensure that you have systems in place so that you can move fast.

Another significant aspect of this kind of contract policy research is the short timescale of the project compared with research bodies' funding where typically the project duration might be two to three times as long. In retrospect I wonder how we managed to do so much, although this may sound complacent. That we

did so derives from having a very clear programme and ensuring that we kept to it. This was absolutely essential, and my task as project director was to ensure that we were meeting our targets, that we were up to our programme schedule of a week by week timelog; there was no scope for slippage. We had what I consider were demanding reporting requirements. We were required to make a monthly report to the Steering Group in the Home Office. That took time but I think it was a good discipline in terms of keeping us on track and allowing us to fine tune the project as we went along.

"….we did develop an effective partnership, whilst at the same time preserving our independence and our objectivity. In terms of the process of learning together in an innovative field it was certainly very beneficial."

The Steering Group for the project was established and convened by the Home Office and we have had two meetings with that group. In most of the research projects I have directed, I have convened my own Steering Group as a sounding board for discussing the work as it progresses. This was a novel venture in the sense that the Steering Group was directed by the client, the Home Office itself. But it worked well because we got beyond a conventional client and contractual relationship. What I draw from this experience, and where the project benefited from the Steering Group, was that we did develop an effective partnership, whilst at the same time preserving our independence and our objectivity. In terms of the process of learning together in an innovative field it was certainly very beneficial.

Another point that we learned about the operational aspects which is vital in this kind of short-term research is the timing of fieldwork. We mobilised fieldwork in three countries: Germany, the Netherlands and the UK. It is very difficult to make that fieldwork authoritative and effective given the short timescale. It is absolutely crucial to determine when you are going to programme in the fieldwork; but, at the same time, it is also very difficult – until you get into the project – to decide exactly when your fieldwork should take place. In fact, once you have decided on the fieldwork, especially in a project which is concerned with assessment, review and feasibility rather than based on empirical data, you are virtually writing up most of the findings anyway. Sustaining many different activities of the research task was a major challenge.

"I think the working relationship that we developed was effective in allowing us this flexibility, in letting the project explore aspects that were relevant but unforeseen."

The final point in terms of procedures and operational aspects was the discretion and flexibility that we had. This takes me back to the point I made at the beginning about the nature of the agenda and the context of the research. We were able to enlarge and elaborate on the agenda, beyond the original tender documentation, but with the consent of the Home Office, because we could see that the way the research was panning out was raising other kinds of questions which inevitably were not there originally. I think the working relationship that we developed was effective in allowing us this flexibility, in letting the project explore aspects that were relevant but unforeseen.

Substantive issues

The final area that I would like to discuss is what I call the substantive issues: some of the meatier, perhaps more controversial, aspects of the research task, and the relationship of the client and the contractor. There are several points here and to a large extent they are interconnected.

We had some interesting debates about our methodology; what we were trying to do and our approach to the project which had at its core de-link notions of causality between policy and outcomes – that particular

policy instruments lead to particular outcomes. Thus one of our major challenges, at first, was to try and open up that agenda. Our approach was based on trying to establish indicators of policy impacts. Partly this was because this is the information that policy makers obviously want to know. On the other hand, this posed two methodological challenges. The first was how to assess and measure the impacts, both direct and indirect, of the different policy instruments in different countries. Was it possible to set up a comparative basis with so many variables? The second challenge was to de-link cause and effect relationships. Again, with so many variables, with contrasting policy chains and the different impetus and timescales of policy changes within the EU states, and with transfer effects across the EU as member countries adopted different measures at different times, it is extremely difficult to assert that specific legislation and policy measures will produce the given outcomes which policy makers may wish for. So, we had some quite interesting, and I think very fruitful, debates about the methodology and the answers it would produce.

This relates to a second major conclusion. What particularly struck us towards the end of the project, at the stage of writing up and at the de-briefing on the final draft at the last Steering Group meeting, was the unresolved tension between policy research and policy recommendations. The latter are what policy makers need; but what is the connectivity and what is our role in bridging this gap? Where does research end and where does policy making begin? We found this tension difficult to resolve, especially as initial feedback about our research findings is that it has provided the kind of messages that the Home Office does not want to hear, although perhaps inevitably what it might have expected we would conclude. The issue here is the way findings are interpreted and used. What do the commissioners of the research want and, ultimately, what do the end-users want – the politicians? There is conflict between the interests of policy makers and the interests that we have as academics. What is the connectivity between them and the relationship? I am not sure we have got that right: indeed it is probably impossible to resolve the tension. It has certainly been a major challenge in the work that we have done.

This leads on to the next point about conveying the message, or to use a current idiom, how can one put a positive spin on an essentially negative series of findings – at least from the policy makers' perspective. Very crudely one could say that Europe started the 1990s with about 300,000 asylum seekers. It ended the decade with about 300,000 asylum seekers, although obviously a lot of variation in between. Is that symmetry a success or a failure? How do we interpret these data and what messages do the research explanations of these data convey, as opposed to the political messages they imply? To what extent, as researchers, should we be critical of policies, which, from the perspective of much of the research we reviewed, continue to exclude well-founded humanitarian claims for asylum? Arguably policy has been effective in containing asylum seeking over the decade. But has it been effective enough from the perspective of policy makers? How are very different and difficult messages conveyed to the clients?

Again, this concern links to the fourth conclusion. Reflecting at the end of the project, what I have said here highlights a sense of detachment we experienced from the policy chain. There are several reasons for this. Partly it is because the project was over a short timescale, and so for practical reasons it was difficult to make the connections. More significantly, the detachment arises, I suspect for internal reasons, in the Home Office, which is at an early stage of developing its research capability and its research agenda. There is not a long tradition of linkage as is the case between criminology research and law and order policy. As a result, there is probably scepticism about the value of research to policy making which needs to be overcome. The modalities of how best to ground policy in informed research need to be established, especially where that linkage is at an early design stage and the subject matter is so politically sensitive. Because the connections between research and policy in the field of asylum seeking – how research feeds into the policy making

agenda – in the Home Office are still fluid, we found it difficult to establish the level in the policy making chain into which our work would feed. Conveying the message to IRSS staff in the Home Office was not the same as connecting with policy makers who would use our research. This disjuncture may account for our initial awareness that the message we conveyed in our research has not been too well received. In this sense, unlike research agency funded projects, we were reporting to intermediaries, rather than directly to end users through the conventional channels of publications. In this respect, my own impression is that part of the problem also derives from the fact that the research itself is exploratory, and interpretative. It deals almost exclusively with secondary data and findings. It is raising questions and issues. It is not empirically based and thus it is not open to clear cut debate about the data, how it is analysed and how this might provide precise guidance to policy makers. So, the sense in which research feeds into policy and policy making, and how it conveys particular messages about that conjuncture, has perhaps the most challenging element of the project.

"…I believe we have steered an objective course between informing policy with professionally grounded research, and preserving our independence and integrity in respecting the human rights and needs of asylum seekers by being fully aware of the implications of our findings."

Finally there is the most sensitive area of all – the ethics of research in an extremely sensitive area. What is our position as researchers? Coming from the point of view of opposing the policy stance and the intentions of the policy instruments of UK governments and indeed EU member states over the last decade, the question is to what extent are we neutral researchers and observers? To what extent do we have a political agenda ourselves and a concern with the sensitivity of the politics of asylum policy? I hope that we have retained our integrity; that is for others to judge. But I believe we have steered an objective course between informing policy with professionally grounded research, and preserving our independence and integrity in respecting the human rights and needs of asylum seekers by being fully aware of the implications of our findings.

To conclude: my final point is that it has been an extremely challenging and very tiring five months. In this context I must thank the research team at Oxford Brookes University – especially Dr David Griffiths, the research associate who worked full-time on the project, and also Silva Ferretti and Martyn Pearl. It has been challenging in the sense of completing an enormous task in a short time scale; and we have indeed been challenged as well by the methodological and substantive issues we encountered and which I have outlined in this paper. But it has been an extremely enjoyable and a very, very rewarding process.

Khalid Koser
Migration Research Unit, University College London

For the last couple of months I have been working on one of three reports commissioned by the Home Office with a broad interest in trying to understand first, whether, and if so how, asylum seekers choose particular destination countries. We have focused particularly on the ways in which information about countries of destination, countries of asylum, is disseminated to potential asylum seekers, both in their countries of origin and also in transit countries and we tried to pay attention to the role of social networks in this process. The work is being done at the Migration Research Unit at UCL and I have been assisted greatly by my colleague Charlie Pinkerton. The report has been based mainly on secondary sources, on published and unpublished reports and material on data sources and also on the media. We documented our findings with one or two small scale interviews with representatives from refugee and migrant community organisations as well.

I am going to touch on three main areas. First, our experience of the research process; secondly, some of the more interesting findings from the research view, and thirdly, some of the wider policy implications that we have developed from the report. When I agreed to write this report I rather naively thought that this was rather an uncontroversial area, and did not think it would cause many problems in terms of going out and collecting the data and speaking particularly to asylum seekers and their representatives. I was quite wrong. One of the first messages we got when we went to speak to representatives from migrant and refugee community organisations was an unwillingness, a reluctance, to speak to us, and a reluctance to speak about information dissemination. I think in part this arises from a distrust of the Home Office. There is also a concern about the specific focus of what we are trying to do. I think the concern of many respondents was that perhaps the Home Office was going to try and divert asylum seekers, perhaps by disseminating biased, inaccurate information in order to make the UK seem an unattractive country. There is absolutely no evidence that this is taking place in the Home Office, but it was clearly a perception of several people we spoke to. We tried our best to overcome what was clearly an obstacle by portraying information dissemination as a positive policy intervention, not as a negative thing that needs to be avoided, and we had some success.

Three things we tried to insist on in our report: first, that if policy is going to intervene in information dissemination, there need to be guarantees that the information disseminated is objective and accurate. Secondly, we are not talking about disseminating information only to so-called spontaneous asylum seekers, the people about whom there is most political concern at the moment. Information can clearly also be useful to the significant numbers of people who arrive in the UK as part of family reunion programmes or even as part of resettlement programmes. I think for each of these three categories of migrants, there are genuine reasons why information dissemination can be a positive aspect. Arguably, information is a human right. It would be hard to argue that we would rather have asylum seekers who arrive with no prior information about this country than to have asylum seekers arrive with at least some accurate information about what they were letting themselves in for. Clearly, also for those involved in resettlement programmes and family reunions, it is important that when they arrive in the UK they should know the conditions, they should know the circumstances in which they are arriving. Several respondents told us that when they deal with people who arrive under family reunion programmes, the first few months are spent trying to knock down unrealistic expectations. They are not going to get a four-bedroom house in Hampstead. That's not the way it works in this country. So, I think information can be spun as a positive intervention.

The point is to try to convince people that it is not just the government of the UK or the destination country that is a stakeholder in this process, there is a range of stakeholders including refugee and asylum seekers and their representatives in migrant and refugee community organisations. It does seem to me that this problem and also to an extent our solution apply more widely and it is worth reflecting on the wider implications of what I am saying here. The reluctance of asylum seekers and asylum advocates to be involved in Home Office research combines with a very important ethical imperative for researchers not to conceal their funding. There is a real dilemma here: you can't conceal who is funding research, but often your respondents are not willing to speak to you because of who is funding your research. The way you might overcome this is by working on this idea of stakeholders, by trying to convince people that policy recommendations are preordained, this is a genuine effort, a genuine attempt for you to have an input into the research process. One way to do this is to try to involve representatives from migrant refugee community organisations from the very beginning of the research process when aims and objectives are being mapped out, when methods are being worked out, and that's a criticism that I have of some of the research which is being commissioned by the Home Office.

Let me turn now to some of the more interesting findings from the work. What we saw our researchers doing was working against some fairly straightforward and simplistic assumptions that go something like this. Potential asylum seekers have friends and family, and social networks in countries of destination. Those social networks assist migration by sending home information, perhaps by lending people money in order to migrate. The result is asylum seekers continue to arrive in destination countries and importantly they arrive with clear knowledge and information about what's going on in those countries and specifically about asylum policies.

Three straightforward points go a long way towards knocking down these straightforward assumptions. First, it is quite clear to us that at least some potential asylum seekers move outside social networks even when those networks exist. Let us not forget we are talking about people who are often fleeing their country of origin in a panic situation, need to move quickly and simply don't have time to make contact with their friends and relatives in, for example, the UK. This is a straightforward and important point that was pressed home to us whenever we did interviews in refugee organisations. Secondly, the perception by many asylum seekers that the information they receive from social networks is accurate, up-to-date and relevant seems not to be necessarily the case. Often migrants will focus on the positive aspects of their experiences in host countries or even portray misinformation and lie about their experiences in order not to be seen as having failed in the migration process. There are, therefore, cases of asylum seekers arriving on basic information which actually has been misinformation provided by their family and their friends.

The implication of these and several other factors is that it is quite clear to us that many asylum seekers arrive in the UK and other western European destinations without a clear information base, and certainly without clear information on asylum policies. I can hardly keep up with changing asylum policies and it seems ridiculous to suggest that asylum seekers can also keep up with asylum policies. The picture is complicated even further when we consider that over the last five, perhaps ten, years the social networks of asylum seekers have changed dramatically in the European context, in terms both of their geography and their composition. Increasingly asylum seekers arrive in inappropriate destination countries. So, for example, Francophone Africans apply for asylum in the UK rather than France and Belgium. The UK also has increasing applications, for example, from China, from Ecuador and from Colombia. The notion here is that some asylum seekers are now arriving in destination countries where they do not have a pre-existing social network. A second important point, and I think there is a growing consensus here, is that an increasing proportion of asylum seekers who arrive in western European destinations have come through transit countries. Direct migration from an origin country to a western European destination is pretty difficult to achieve these days. Increasing

numbers of asylum seekers are coming through transit countries and spending increasing periods of time in those transit countries. And, thirdly, it is difficult to ignore a growing consensus that smugglers, and possibly also traffickers, are playing an increasing role in the migration of at least some asylum seekers. There is still a shortage of clear information about who smugglers are and what they do but most people now agree that they are increasingly important in the migration of asylum seekers.

To highlight three implications of some of these changes: first, it seems to us that at least some asylum seekers are effectively losing control of the migration cycle – decisions about the timing of their migration, the route they take, and even the final destination are sometimes taken out of their hands by smugglers and other agents. So, let us try and move away from the idea of asylum seekers sitting with detailed information, working out which country is best and heading for that country.

Secondly, if the UK seriously wants to try to become involved in disseminating information to asylum seekers it seems that the place to do this is in transit countries. Often asylum seekers leave their countries of origin in a state of panic without a particularly clear idea of where they are going, they are simply heading west to escape danger. It is in transit countries where they may be spending increasing periods of time that they then may decide on which country not to head for and which country to head for.

Thirdly, human smugglers are a source of destination countries. The consensus is that smugglers often have detailed information about asylum policies and other conditions in destination countries in western Europe, for example. The question is to what extent they then disseminate that information to asylum seekers and the conclusions are fairly contradictory here. Some people have spoken about asylum seekers arriving with detailed information that they were given by human smugglers – for example, what the appropriate answers are in the immigration interview when you first arrive in the UK. Others say that smugglers do nothing more than simply get people here and throw them out of a truck on the M25. The main point to make here about smuggling is that it is clearly a varied process: it seems that some smugglers do give out information and some do not and research needs to be done to clarify that point.

So, to conclude with some of our broader policy implications from the report as a whole. The first implication is that we need to be realistic, we need to recognise where policy interventions can and cannot make a difference. For example, there is a limited scope for policy to intervene in social networks. For example, it is unlikely that information disseminated through formal institutions is ever going to deter migration. The most realistic and arguably the most useful aim is to try to focus on the dissemination of accurate, objective, up-to-date information and this comes back to the idea of portraying information dissemination as a positive policy intervention.

Secondly, it is quite clear the relationships between social networks, information dissemination and migration decision making are incredibly complex. There is always a danger where policy intervenes in a complex process that there will unintended consequences. Let me suggest two. The dissemination of information might attract more asylum seekers to this country, not fewer. Another example, a corollary of providing objective, accurate, up-to-date information to asylum seekers in transit countries and origin countries is that you are providing accurate, objective, up-to-date information to smugglers in those countries as well. What are the implications of that?

And finally, if policy seriously wants to intervene in information dissemination then a unilateral perspective is unlikely to work. Governments and agents in transit countries and in origin countries have as much at stake and as great a role to play as destination countries in disseminating information and influencing the final decision by asylum seekers about whether to migrate and, if so, where.

Steven Vertovec
Trans-National Communities Programme, University of Oxford

I was invited to talk about the Trans-National Communities Programme as an example of an organisation that brings together a large-scale research network with NGOs and government departments. So I'll address the theme of the programme, go through some of its structures as well as some of the various activities that we have organised to link up these different communities.

What we mean by 'trans-nationalism' in the Programme is simply types and modes of global social economic and political inter-connection. Basically, it's an approach, particularly by way of migration, that emphasises the on-going links that migrant and refugee groups have with their places of origin and, indeed, with other groups from that place of origin around the world. So it is a multi-disciplinary programme looking at different kinds of groups that we are calling, for the sake of brevity, Trans-National Communities. This includes: migrants and diasporas, households, corporations, occupational groups, NGOs and social movements, all of which are globally inter-connected and globally networked. We look at the ways, for instance, they use information technology, transport, remittances, and political lobbying within these global networks. It's a large scale programme, with funding of £3.7 million over five years. There are a lot of ESRC programmes and basically, they are quite different from ESRC centres where the researchers and the money are based in one place, in one institution. The ESRC programmes are such that once a particular theme is accepted and commissioned, there is a national call for research proposals. We did not contract out specific research; rather researchers across the country were called to submit bids. This was done in 1997. We received about 180 applications and only about 1 in 10 was successful. There were 250 referees involved, and 14 people on the selection committee.

We ended up with 19 projects working on a variety of relevant topics, with about 60 researchers overall, directly employed in the UK. The programme as a whole acts as a kind of brokerage between research (particularly the 19 projects and the 60 researchers) and other relevant activities going on around Britain and the world. The website is our main method of performing this function and therefore includes information about all the 19 projects, their project briefings, preliminary findings and so on. It also includes other added value things, for example, an on-going world news digest on relevant stories drawn from global press, a searchable bibliography on the topics of: migration, diasporas and trans-national communities, quarterly newsletters, over 40 downloadable working papers, and more. This means that the programme doesn't exist just for the 19 projects; we are also involved in a whole series of seminars, international conferences, publications, books series, journals, amongst other things. All of this is then displayed and constantly updated on our website [www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk].

Now, turning to migration in particular, amongst the 19 projects there are many groups being looked at in this trans-national sense, that is, a community, a household, or an organisation that has been stretched across a number of locations around the world. Examples that the projects are looking at are: Fujinese migration networks, Japanese and Korean managers, Turkish and Kurdish political organisations spread around Europe, female migrant domestic workers, particularly in the UK, seafarers globally, Bosnian and Eritrean refugees, kinship groups and remittances.

But what I want to really focus on is the idea of the programme serving as a kind of network of networks. First of all, the programme has an advisory board that represents a kind of network in itself. The board represents a wide constituency of people, including Sarah Spencer from IPPR and Jeff Crisp from UNHCR. They each give relevant advice on the steerage of the programme and very useful feedback to individual projects. There are other aspects attached to the network of networks. Each project, of course, has its own network of academic colleagues. This is due to the nature of the research, which looks at migrant communities at all ends of the migration processes. Therefore, it involves a lot of research affiliations in the sending places or in other places where the same migrant groups have gone to, such as Canada and the USA. As well as the academic network that it engages for the logistics of the research, they also, in ESRC speak, have their own network of relevant user groups which might be NGOs, government departments (both local and national levels), specific community groups, and so on. These user groups are vital, because one of the ESRC's real sticks that they are always hitting us with is that all of this research must get back into the public domain and has to reach the groups that would use it most. It can't just stay within the academic sphere. So, each project represents a mini-network relevant to its particular topic and, of course, more generally the programme website has links to other conferences and relevant centres in research programmes all round the world. We also run a whole set of co-sponsored activities which, again, involve a wide range of user and academic groups. For example, we have linked up for a number of international conferences with the International Migration Programme of the American SSRC, as well as organising various functions with Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs), British Council and IPPR.

And finally, there are some spin-off activities that Stephen Castles, of the Refugee Studies Centre in Oxford, and I are co-ordinating. One of these projects is a mapping exercise that we are doing for the Home Office. I think that largely we got the contract because we can pull this wide academic and NGO network into the consulting process necessary in mapping the whole field. So, look for more information at the website or contact the administrator, Emma Newcombe, because it is still an on-going open network which we would be happy to use to co-disseminate material through our website or, indeed, co-operate in other sorts of research and policy capacities. And so the networking goes on!

Meyer Burstein and Howard Duncan
The Metropolis Project, Canada

Meyer Burstein

The Metropolis Project attempts to link external research with public policy development, which is also the theme of this conference. I will be talking about project structures and Howard Duncan will talk about how we animate those structures.

Metropolis is often referred to as a network but it is a network with a difference. Since its beginning, some five years ago, the level of activity within Metropolis has risen sharply. We attribute this success to the fact that our network has succeeded in continuously creating value for our stakeholders. We are supported in this view by three independent evaluations. These have examined not only the scientific quality of the research that emanates from our Project but also the processes that we have developed to ensure that the research is policy relevant and useful to the policy and practitioner community.

Metropolis was developed in the wake of a federal task force that had concluded that governments, including the federal government, were not successfully coming to grips with long-term, strategic issues, especially issues that straddle jurisdictions. One of the reasons cited by the Task Force for this state of affairs was that governments tended to under-invest in research, especially research on cross-cutting issues. In Canada's case, this tendency was aggravated by an extensive government-wide, cost-cutting exercise which had a disproportionately negative effect on in-house and contract research. The result was that when Metropolis appeared on the scene there was no shortage of issues to be examined, nor was there a shortage of concerned stakeholders. There was, however, a shortage of research and no coherent research programme. In struggling to address this situation, it quickly became clear that we were not going to solve the problem of inadequate research capacity by 'growing' the public sector and hiring a large number of in-house researchers. Instead, we concluded that we would need to look to the external research community in order to develop the state of knowledge within Canada. This translated itself into three principal challenges: first, the challenge of increasing research capacity; second, the challenge of focusing that capacity on issues of public policy; and, third, the challenge of stimulating decision-makers to make use of research.

We began our journey by assembling the key federal ministries that had a stake in immigration management, arguing that they also had a stake in promoting research. Thus, while the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was responsible for managing the number of entrants and, to some extent, their qualities, managing the effects and consequences of immigration and growing diversity fell to a host of other departments. These departments urgently needed knowledge if they were to respond successfully to the challenges posed by migration. Ultimately, eight federal agencies, including the departments responsible for housing, labour, health, culture, citizenship and immigration and Canada's premier social science research

council agreed to pool funds in order to create four Centres of Excellence in Canada. These Centres were not constituted as ivory towers but rather as informed think tanks with a capacity to analyse policy issues and to offer sound policy advice. The Centres, each a consortium of major universities, were located across the country in the four major immigrant-receiving regions. This idea of university partnerships was encouraged because it created larger pools of expertise and facilitated the assembly of multi-disciplinary teams.

Currently, the Centres comprise some 200 researchers with perhaps twice as many graduate students. The Centres also include within their structures, advisory and management boards that bring together federal, provincial, municipal and NGO stakeholders. These bodies were required under the terms of the original grant and their aim was to ensure that the Centres focus on issues that mattered. The decisions cited above were important in shaping the Centres' research but had we not gone beyond this point, the Project would not have been especially innovative. What made a difference to Metropolis was the collective investment in infrastructure by the Project's partners and the concerted effort by the Metropolis Project Team, which Howard Duncan and I head, to promote the use of this infrastructure. The examples are many. Early on, we created an interdepartmental committee on which all of the federal funders are represented. The chief task facing the members on this committee is to bind the Centres to the ministries they represent and to promote 'thick' relationships between researchers at the Centres and policy and programme officials from their departments. Similarly, we have worked with the Centres to ensure that policy and programme concerns are taken seriously and that processes are in place whereby policy interests can be communicated to researchers and experts can be engaged. The result has been that the Centres are beginning to function as institutions. Their planning capacity and, indeed, their willingness to plan research has increased significantly over the five year life of the Project. There has also been a marked increase in the willingness of researchers to communicate their findings in forums other than academic publications. Interestingly, because the research is understood, because relationships have become more robust, and because trust has started to develop, the Centres are increasingly being perceived as valuable institutions by the federal and provincial governments and they have begun to leverage additional resources from the original funding partners as well as from new players who have been attracted to the Project.

There is also an extensive international component to Metropolis. I will touch only briefly on this aspect of the Project so if you are interested in the international component, you can obtain additional information on our website. My main interest at this conference has been to convey to you the very real benefits that accrue from a strategic partnership between the domestic research and policy communities. This is where countries must start if they are to participate actively and effectively in the international arena. For this reason, and hence the focus of my talk, our aim has been to encourage other countries to emulate the Canadian model. We recognise that this will be a slow process and that we can expect many local variants; however, we feel that by sticking to a small set of core ideas we can eventually build a truly robust international policy-research capacity. We are still some distance from achieving this goal; however, we are already the largest network in the world focusing on immigration and diversity issues. Currently, our international membership includes more than twenty countries and nearly half a dozen important international and multinational organisations. Our membership includes Canada, the United States, Argentina, Israel, New Zealand, South Africa, most of Western and Northern Europe and institutions such as the European Commission and the International Organization for Migration. In order to link this diverse membership, we have created a set of governing institutions that include an international steering committee, a secretariat with two arms (one on each side of the Atlantic) and various other structures that lend permanence to the enterprise and help guide our activities. Chiefly these have consisted of international conferences which feature numerous intense workshops as well as an increasing number of interconference seminars and events organised along Chatham House lines. In all cases we have insisted on a small number of core ideas to which we attribute our international success. These

are: (1) an insistence on bringing both researchers and policy makers to the table; (2) an insistence on an international comparative perspective, by which we mean a trans-oceanic, largely a transatlantic, perspective; and (3) an insistence that the discussion go beyond advocacy or the mere stating of facts and that real conversation take place in which learning is the end product.

I would like to make one final plea regarding the importance of infrastructure for any project that seeks to employ external research for the purpose of improving policy development. In our case, infrastructure stands for the various committees we have created to manage activities and data; it includes websites, newsletters, journals and various other communication devices. These structures create expectations amongst stakeholders; they encourage planning; they stimulate the development of teams and partnerships; they provide a focal point for additional investment in research; and, most importantly, they build a community of stakeholders bound by common purpose and pride in achievement. A key element within this structural constellation has been the small Project Team that Howard and I lead. In our view this Team has made the crucial difference between traditional grant based research and the kind of project that Metropolis has grown into. The reason for this is that leadership matters and at the core of every successful enterprise someone or some group must worry about strategic directions and how to mobilise in order to achieve these strategic goals.

Howard Duncan

When I left the workshop that preceded this session I was struck by the last item that was discussed, which was essentially an expression of frustration at why research seems to have no effect on policy whatsoever. I found this to be interesting because we experienced the same sort of thing in Canada, so I would like to start with that.

One thing that we believe in Metropolis, and we have learned this on the basis of difficult experience, is that it is important for those of us who are in the research community, whether we are actually researchers or whether we are people who encourage collaboration between research and policy, to understand how policy is actually made. There seems to be a myth, particularly amongst researchers, that researchers inform policy simply by virtue of having research ideas, bits of information that enter into a logical space where they make their way in some magical fashion into policy documents. This assumption is often made, and I see it in articles that describe the logic underlining the research-policy nexus. There seems to be this assumption of pure rationality, of a detachment of research, a detachment of policy issues, ideas, and analysis from actual human beings. Once you accept the fact that policy is made by human beings, and I think we can also accept the fact that research is done by human beings, everything changes and you cannot look at it as simply a matter of ideas coming together in logical space with researchers supplying premises from which policy conclusions follow as a matter of logical course. What we try to do in Metropolis is take account of the human dimensions of the processes that both sides are involved in, build that intimately into the design of the project and have our activities and have our rhetoric speak directly to that. To a large extent, the results do speak for themselves. We have found over the years that the appetite amongst policy makers for engaging researchers through Metropolis has grown and it continues to grow.

One bit of evidence is that at our international conferences we have workshops that are organised by volunteers, whether they are volunteers from the policy sector or from the research sector. There are certain requirements each workshop must adhere to, otherwise we reject the proposal. Each workshop must include people from research, from policy and from a non-governmental sector. We started with a tiny number of these workshops. At the last conference we had 52 of them. Most are organised by policy makers, so there is a strong appetite in the policy community for the work that researchers do. What makes the difference though is how it is that the two (or, in our case, the three groups, the third group being the practitioners of the NGOs) engage one another. We try hard to create opportunities whereby representatives from these groups focused on a specific issue can meet, can have a conversation.

We make a big deal of this word 'conversation'. We prefer to avoid people speaking at each other or preaching at each other. We prefer to have meetings that follow Chatham House or similar rules because that allows people to speak frankly, it allows people to speak openly, without fear of being squealed on either to the media or to others. So, we have encouraged and developed an attitude within the project whereby the three communities feel at ease to speak with one another, to come up with a shared understanding of an issue, a shared understanding of a problem, with a shared understanding of what might happen if a certain policy intervention was tried, and so on. These shared understandings are an important preliminary to having research influence policy. If you don't understand each other or if you don't understand each other's language, the potential for influence is very much diminished.

Something else that working in this way tends to achieve over time is the development of sub-networks focused on a particular issue where the members of the network come to trust one another. The element of trust is key here. What we found is that it is not just the policy makers who come to trust each other, or that the researchers come to trust the policy makers and vice versa, but at least in the Canadian context, even more remarkably, the NGOs have managed to go beyond being simply advocates and have managed to come to trust the researchers and the government and the other way around in these settings. The potential for influence is much heightened when you have an atmosphere of trust.

So, what we have done in Metropolis is develop a set of occasions, a set of events where this kind of conversation can take place. We have annual conferences, both in Canada and at an international level. We have smaller seminars between the conferences. We have held a number of policy meetings behind closed doors. One of these helped the European Commission, who are beginning the process of creating a harmonised migration policy for Europe. We do, however, also use traditional means of dissemination and communications. We have an elaborate website which goes by the simple name www.international.metropolis.net. This is a network of websites and it allows for discussion groups to be set up between researchers and policy makers. We have a journal called The Journal for International Migration and Integration which, following Metropolis practice, solicits articles by policy makers, by researchers and by the NGO community. To sum up, we do have at the core of our idea for energising the network the idea of communication that is frank, that is open, that is honest and that is built upon a shared sense of trust, so for those of you who are concerned that research never can influence policy, our experience has been resoundingly the opposite. Indeed it can.

"…. for those of you who are concerned that research never can influence policy, our experience has been resoundingly the opposite. Indeed it can."

Sarah Spencer
Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)

It is my job to provoke a discussion on where we should take this new relationship between the migration research community, on the one hand, and government policy makers on the other. In that task I should begin by congratulating Home Office officials. By holding this conference they have taken the first step towards bridging the information gap between the government's need for independent data and analysis, and the need of the research community to know what questions policy makers are asking, and the scope that exists for researchers to contribute to policy development.

Evidence based policy making

The Institute for Public Policy Research organised a seminar in 1995 that was intended to stimulate policy research on immigration and asylum. It was one outcome of a report that we had just published entitled *Strangers and Citizens* in which we argued that policy on immigration and asylum should be evidence-based, and that it should in particular be grounded in an understanding of the actual economic and social impact of migration to the UK.

Meyer Burstein came over from Canada to enthuse us about the significant contribution which research had made there, not only to refining entry controls but to changing the terms of public debate. His counterpart from Australia then made remarkably similar observations about the impact of immigration research in her own country. Reflecting the political climate in the UK at the time, however, the then head of policy at the Immigration and Nationality Department came to the platform to give us ten reasons why Britain did not and never would do any research on immigration and asylum issues. 'We might find out things that we would rather not know', he said. Moreover, 'if you do research on the impact of immigration policy, it rather suggests that that policy might one day change. That would be unwise.' The official made it clear that the only research that the department was then interested in was questions like 'How many immigration officers do we need at Gatwick airport on a Sunday night?' At that point the enthusiasm in my seminar visibly dissipated; and UK policy continued to be based on assumptions about the impact of immigration rather than on any evidence about the reality on the ground.

I think this conference today demonstrates how far we have come since then, particularly in the last year. The Government is now committed to the kind of evidence-based policy making that has been evident recently in other fields, not least in criminal justice. The proof that there has been a change of heart, I think, was in the publication of the Home Office report *Migration: an economic and social analysis* in January. That report would not have been put in the public domain if Government were not serious about promoting research, and public debate, on these issues. It is also evident in the new budget that has been allocated for research in this field.

Paucity of policy relevant research

I was seconded into the Home Office to work on that study so I got a glimpse of how it looks 'from the other side'. I saw that, in relation to so many of the questions that government was at last willing to ask about the social and economic impact of migration, the research simply was not there to provide us with answers. Questions such as the effect that importing overseas workers might have on those workers who experience discrimination in the domestic labour market – a key issue if we are talking about opening up skilled migration. Do asylum seekers choose a destination in Europe, and if so, why do they choose the UK? Would unskilled migrants bring social costs, or make greater demands on public services than skilled workers do? What effect would it have on developing countries if we were to attract more of their skilled people to come to Britain? Where are illegal entrants and over-stayers working? And to what extent are they paying taxes and National Insurance as fully integrated members of the workforce; or are they living on the margins of society? We scoured the academic literature and, with some notable exceptions, found that it was not addressing the questions that we were asking; or, if it did, that the studies were too small or the methodology insufficiently robust to enable us to defend the conclusions. Why? Partly, of course, precisely because successive governments had in the past given no indication that they were interested in evidence on these issues. There had been no encouragement to undertake research on immigration and asylum issues; no funding and little access to data.

I would suggest, however, that it is also to do with the way academics in the field have often approached research: that the choice of subject, and the approach that was taken, have, in the past, largely reflected academic priorities. It may reflect the ESRC research assessment criteria, or an interest in developing theory and methodology, perhaps, rather than any desire to contribute to policy development. I have a strong suspicion that policy relevance for many academics is a question that they ask themselves when they are reaching the end of a project: that policy relevance is raised, if at all, when researchers are thinking about what the conclusions of the research are, rather than as a consideration which is built into the research questions and methodology itself. If that is correct, it may be based on a mistaken assumption that when you find an issue that needs to be addressed, a problem for which a solution needs to be found, Ministers or officials will say 'thank you for pointing it out; we'll do something about it right away'.

Political and policy context

We need to bear in mind how politics, and working life in Whitehall, actually operate. Civil servants work to a very focused agenda, an agenda set by Ministers' priorities, manifesto and White Paper commitments; set by targets, public service agreements, and the need to deliver on performance indicators. It is constrained by the pressure to respond to public opinion and to win public support. So if officials are busy working to Agenda A, and you come along with some evidence that suggests that they really ought to do something about Agenda B – but that agenda is not relevant to what Ministers are pressing them to do (and expected them to deliver on by yesterday) – it may be unrealistic to expect a great deal of enthusiasm. Clearly, if you come across evidence that is so persuasive, so powerful, that really something has to be done, then you can shift the policy agenda. But that has to be rare.

Influence and independence

If we want to influence the policy agenda in Whitehall we have to be aware of, and to take into account, the challenges that Ministers and officials are facing, the questions they are asking themselves, before we design our research. To do that we have to have our finger on the pulse of thinking within Whitehall. I am clearly not suggesting that we allow the political and policy agenda to dictate our research agenda – whether the empirical research

agenda of academics or the policy research agenda of a think-tank. And I am definitely not suggesting that we allow it to influence our findings and undermine the integrity of the research. We may indeed want to entirely ignore the policy agenda. We are certainly unlikely to want to accept it. There are not necessarily any shared objectives here. But you may want to use the policy agenda in order to make your research findings relevant.

Policy relevant research

If you do want to make your research relevant, to influence the policy agenda, this is my ten-point plan for how to do it.

1. Before you even plan the research, make yourselves aware of the political and policy context of the issue that you are interested in. Just be conscious of the pressures and constraints that the government perceives itself to be operating within. Look at the department's website, read the White Papers, the Ministers' speeches and the press releases and talk to the policy officials involved, so that you know how policy makers see the issues on which you are planning to conduct research.

2. Take that agenda into account – marginally if you want to, centrally if you want more influence, but at least be aware of it.

3. Maintain a dialogue with policy officials while you are doing the research so that, when you have completed it, they are awaiting the results and are more likely to be receptive to them.

4. Be aware of their time-scale. The value of your findings is incalculably greater before officials have finished writing that definitive report for Ministers than if you deliver them the following month.

5. Be aware of the internal politics of the issue. Simple things like the fact that work permits come under the Department for Education and Employment and not the Home Office; or that research on the fiscal impact of migration will also be of interest to the Treasury. Be conscious of the sensitivities to which overlapping responsibilities can lead.

6. It is important to build up trust with the officials that you are dealing with. They need to know that, if they are open about the questions they are tentatively considering, you are not going to expose them by quoting them in public. They also need to know that the information or data you provide is reliable. We really only get one chance. If a researcher gives officials data that is subsequently cited in a government publication or used by a Minister, and that data turns out to be inaccurate to great embarrassment all round, they are not likely to have confidence in that person's information again.

7. Identify other stakeholders with an interest in the issue you are investigating: practitioners, employers, trade unions, NGOs, community organisations, think tanks, parliamentary committees. Make them aware of your research findings and encourage them to cite them. It significantly increases the chances that policy makers will listen to what you say if they hear it coming from other sources as well.

8. It is important to present your research findings in a form which is accessible to policy makers as well as in the form that is suitable for academic publications. The reality is that officials are only going to read your dense tome if they are utterly captivated by a two-page summary (and they will still be frustrated that the tome is longer than ten pages!). I know that simplifying research is very much against the grain and very difficult in practice but if the people who want to use it do not have time to read it, or cannot understand the language you have used, then your work cannot have any impact on what they do.

9. It may also go against the grain to get media coverage but, if you have come up with something that is of interest to the public, to get an article in a national paper, or an item on the radio, does serve to draw attention to your work and gives you more clout in the policy world. That is true, of course, only because your sound-bites are actually backed by solid research; but the sound-bites do help to draw attention to the importance of what you have found out.

10. Finally, if your findings are significant, if they are robust, if they are relevant and you do find officials are interested, then ask for a meeting so that you can get feedback and enter into dialogue on how the issue might be taken forward at a policy level.

If you do all that, are you guaranteed to have influence? Absolutely not. David Coleman, the Oxford demographer who was an adviser to a Conservative government, wrote an article based on his experience in which he concluded that the influence which research has on policy development is in inverse proportion to the importance of the decision! Clearly, where a decision has to be taken on political grounds, decision-makers are not going to let the facts get in the way! We might like to think that side-stepping evidence-based policy making is a thing of the past but that would, as we all know, be unrealistic. Nevertheless, the Home Office's new interest in evidence based policy making on immigration and asylum issues does at least provide us with an opportunity that simply was not there before. It is an opportunity that we can take if we want to.

I have implied that government is only interested in facts, but that is not the case. Policy makers can sometimes be searching for a new paradigm, new ways of interpreting what is happening, and academic analysis that provides a new conceptual framework can also be enormously valuable. But do not underestimate how long it is since some of us left university – and I say that as a think-tank policy analyst who operates in the space between academia and government. Sometimes the concepts, the language, the theories that academics refer to, the abbreviations that are second nature to you but can be meaningless to those outside your circle, can make academic literature simply inaccessible. Translating your analysis into a more familiar language does not need to mean dumbing down.

Way forward

That ends my homily on how to make this new relationship work. From the Government we need more information, greater openness about the questions to which they need answers, more comprehensive data collection, and more funding for research. This conference has been a good start in that process and I think we would be pleased to hear more on how the Home Office intends to keep the information flowing. Those engaged in independent research need to be aware of what the policy agenda is and the time-scale. You may be willing, at least, to take that into account when planning research and willing to publish your findings in an accessible form so that we think-tanks, as well as policy makers, can use them. We must not lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with an area of economic and social policy in which the political risks for those who change policy are high. But it is also the case that there is considerable suffering and hardship amongst migrants, so the need to deliver change is unquestionable. If the new relationship that we have started today can help to deliver the progressive policy change that is needed, then this conference will prove a watershed. We must hope that that will be the case.

"If the new relationship that we have started today can help to deliver the progressive policy change that is needed, then this conference will prove a watershed."

Workshop presentations and papers

Workshop 1: European Asylum and Immigration Policy

Participants

Natalia Berkowitz (IAA)
Kate Handforth (UKCOSA)
Daniel Howard (IRSS)
Beverley Morgan (IRSS)
Jon Payne (IND)
Stephen Pittam (JRCT)
Sharon Rusu (Oxford)
Andrew Shacknove (Oxford)
Charles Watters (Kent)
Martin Wood (IRSS)
Don Flynn (JCWI)
Jennifer Hill (IRSS)
Gillian McGregor (IND)
Lydia Morris (Essex)
Ceri Peach (Oxford)
Frances Platel (NASS)
Marion Schmid (Kent)
Jan Shaw (Amnesty)
Leanne Weber (Cambridge)
David Griffiths (Oxford Brookes)
Graeme Hopkins (IND)
Nuala Mole (AIRE Centre)
John Morrison (Body Shop International)
Steve Peers (Essex)
Nicola Roger (IND)
Liza Schuster (LSE)
Tom Steinberg (IEA)
Richard Williams (Refugee Council)

IRSS Presentation

In light of the importance of asylum and immigration issues within the EU, IRSS is keen to produce research that has a European focus and that can be used to inform current asylum and immigration debates. To date, however, IRSS has only commissioned one piece of research that has a European dimension. This is the work that has been carried out and recently completed by Roger Zetter and the research team at Oxford Brookes University. This is a feasibility study on the impact of asylum policies and practice on asylum applications in the EU. The aims of the feasibility study are:

- To provide chronological information on changes in asylum policy, procedures and practice across the EU states;
- To review the available evidence about the impact of such changes upon the number and patterns of asylum applications to EU states. The work illustrates these processes in case studies of five European countries (the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and Italy);
- To propose directions for future research. That is, it identifies a series of requirements for additional work that will provide a better understanding of the relationship between asylum policies and asylum applications, in order to inform future policy development and implementation.

There are a number of potential areas for future research, as recommended by the feasibility study:

1. Research is needed on the indirect impacts of the main measures to restrict in-migration. In particular, despite the existence of strong circumstantial evidence, there is little authoritative research on the assumption that increased restrictionism has led to growing trafficking and the illegal entry of both asylum seekers and economic migrants.

2. In terms of structural factors, the feasibility study has also recognised that there is a marked absence of qualitative research into the motivations of asylum seekers. Future research could address this omission by focussing, for example, on asylum networks.

3. Another area recommended for future research is asylum policy and international development. That is, most policy instruments are reactive and remedial, rather than durable solutions to humanitarian and refugee emergencies. As a result, greater research is needed into how asylum seeking might be regulated by tackling the root causes in-country.

Other areas of work with a European dimension

- The European Parliament has introduced budget lines that will support refugee integration and facilitate voluntary return. Agreed by the Council, the European Refugee Fund was established to be managed by the Commission. The total budget 216m euros 2000-2004. Individual states have been invited to submit bids – 50% funding for national projects, 100% if joint project that benefits EU as a whole.

- Many integration projects are being proposed, together with one voluntary returns project, for the current year. Evaluation of these is required at project level to a degree and of the fund as a whole.

- *Voluntary Assisted Returns Programme.* In addition, a more in-depth evaluation is planned of the VARP study being run with IOM and Refugee Action as partners with IND. This will look at the implementation of the programme, the effect it has had and the potential for its expansion.

- *EU initiatives* will potentially provide more work in the bid assessment and evaluation areas.

- *The Illegally resident population:* There is not a great deal of work with a specifically European perspective on the IRSS programme at present, and no joint projects. We do appreciate how necessary this perspective is in particular areas however. It is intended, for instance, to initiate a programme of work to describe the size and characteristics of the illegally resident population in the UK. A workshop held recently with academics in the field was a first step for this.

- Ultimately, there is a clear need to understand this population in the wider European and global context, and we are open to suggestions as to how this might best be achieved (both in terms of learning from work carried out elsewhere and of co-ordinating new work).

Summary of discussion

The ideas to come out of this group's discussion related to 3 inter-connected areas

1) Legal aspects of EU immigration and asylum.

   – For example, the legal status of non-EU migrants and the trajectory from a position of insecurity to security. Also community law and Human Rights, inconsistencies between legal practice, and the European Court of Justice following the Treaty of Amsterdam.

2) The problematic question of harmonisation.

   – These focused on issues surrounding information and the role of harmonisation. In particular, the problem of harmonisation in the face of national variation; the need for greater transparency regarding support and welfare arrangements, including the need for greater in-depth thought as opposed to the prevalent 'zero-sum' view which focuses on cost and benefit; and the differential treatment across EU countries of Kosovars evacuated during HEP. Other areas raised included the Dublin Convention, and the use of country of origin information across different EU States.

3) Social Networks.

   – Might social networks be a greater influence on levels of migration (rather than organised trafficking?) Further work in the area of social networks is needed.

As well as these three broad areas, participants also noted that too much emphasis was placed on statistics and not other forms of research and that there was insufficient access for non-Home Office researchers to Home Office personnel/information. In particular, a number of concerns were raised about the research outlined by the Home Office. These were:

- The focus on prevention (stopping people arriving and claiming asylum) and removals. It was felt that there should be greater emphasis on protection.
- The failure to take account of the many different factors at work, including other policy areas. It was suggested that attention be given to investigating the interaction between different areas of policy, both domestically and regionally/internationally (e.g. GATTS/trade/foreign policy/development etc.).
- A lack of consideration of the starting point for research. There is a need for research into, and an evaluation of the role of, 'norms' in policy- and law-making.

Future areas for research

A number of potential research areas were identified by the workshop group:

- *A wider than EU research focus.* Participants recognised that it was important not to focus research on EU countries alone. Countries on the geographical periphery of the EU and/or future member states also merit attention. There is a particular need to investigate the situation in those countries that act as 'buffer zones' to the in-migration of asylum seekers and economic migrants to the EU, examining for example:

  1. the extent to which they are coping
  2. the effects of bi-lateral agreements (such as that between Germany and the Czech Republic) on the asylum seekers as they attempt to enter the EU.

The inclusion of new member states to the EU will impact upon these (and other similar) asylum and immigration patterns and processes. Asylum and immigration 'problems' that are currently external to the EU will become internal as new states join the EU.

- Humanitarian statuses. In addition to the 1951 Convention refugee status, a number of other humanitarian and/or 'B' statuses exist across European member states. The durability of these statuses and their overall quality (in terms of access to support systems, legal status and rights) are likely to differ among member states, although there is currently a lack of information on the extent of these differences and their effects on those in need of protection. There are also implications for harmonisation. Asylum seekers are not being dealt with in the same system and they are not all being given the same status. There is potential for people with a different status to be treated in different ways, which in turn may affect where people claim asylum. Research could focus on what the implications of different statuses are for harmonisation.

- Harmonisation. If the harmonisation of European asylum and immigration policy continues to be underpinned by restrictionism, it may lead to individual countries adopting different policies. Member states that are on the periphery of the EU, for example, may introduce stricter measures of immigration control compared with elsewhere in the EU. Comparative research could illustrate the extent to which this is taking place.

- Social care arrangements in Europe. There is currently a lack of research on the social care arrangements for asylum seekers and refugees in Europe. For example, there have been few comparisons of good and bad practice in member states. There may be lessons to be learnt from different countries' experiences of setting up social care arrangements. At the moment, there is limited evaluation of these arrangements and little pooling of knowledge. Canada, for example, has conducted research on the movement of refugees following their dispersal and initial settlement. Within Canada, secondary migration from the initial place of settlement often depends on the nature of the welcome that they receive from local communities.

- Refugee communities. Long-term research is needed into how existing refugee communities act as an attraction to new asylum seekers and the extent to which they are able to offer support and deter secondary migration. Again, lessons could be learnt from the experiences of other European countries.

- Detention. What are the positive alternatives to detention? That is, what measures might ensure/encourage compliance (rather than focusing on absconding)? Opportunities exist for the consideration of best practice models, using cross policy approaches.

- Racial prejudice towards asylum seekers. The extent of any regional and (within the context of the EU) national differences in the existence of racial prejudice towards, and racial attacks against, asylum seekers and refugees is unknown. Any research on this could make use of hate crime statistics, perhaps assessing the extent to which larger or smaller asylum seeker and refugee communities are more likely to suffer. This could also cut into research on dispersal and the nature of reception and social networks. In Germany, for example, dispersal and settlement policies have been very strict, with asylum seekers not allowed to move out of their particular area. What have been the implications of this approach for race relations within the settlement community? Has it led to racial tension? One important factor to consider, however, is that when asylum seekers choose to exit from support systems, they also exit from the system of surveillance and/or control.

- High and low skilled migration. There needs to be greater research on how the current gap in the labour market for low skilled migrants is to be filled. Will the gap be filled from clandestine migrants, family reunification?

- Immigration control. Little is known about the populations who are 'kept out' by measures of immigration control. Are they genuine asylum seekers?

- Issues of return. Little research has been conducted to date on the position of those asylum seekers who do not qualify for refugee status under the 1951 Convention, but who cannot be returned. What is their position across Europe?

Workshop 2: Asylum and Appeals in the UK

Participants

Rachel Atkinson (LCD)
Sophia Ceneda (RWRP)
Jayne Curtis (IND)
Matthew Gibney (Oxford)
Margaret Hauser (Oxford)
Naznin Islam (UNHCR)
Lynnette Kelly (Warwick)
David Matz (IRSS)
Anne Owers (JUSTICE)
Sean Roberts (Amnesty)
Dallal Stevens (Warwick)
Anna Taylor (IRSS)
David Walsh (Glasgow Cal)
Barry Bardwell-Snow (IRSS)
Jane Coker (ILPA)
Nienke Doornbos (Nijmegen)
Anthony Good (Edinburgh)
Tina Heath (IRSS)
Lynda Joeman (IRSS)
Khalid Koser (UCL)
Alison McGarrity (LSC)
Michael Pickett (IAS)
Rachel Rogers (Law Society)
Hugo Storey (IAA)
Robert Thomas (Manchester)
Iain Walsh (IND)
Peter Billings (West of England)
Heaven Crawley (IRSS)
Colin Gale (IRSS)
Alison Harvey (Medical Foundation)
Chris Hudson (IND)
Gareth Jones (LSE)
Trine Lester (RLC)
David Owen (Warwick)
Charles Pinkerton (UCL)
Lorna Smith (ICU)
Barry Stoyle (RLC)
Robert van der Erf (NIDI)

IRSS Presentation

Asylum Research

The research programme is made up of a combination of internal projects and externally commissioned work. At present, the IRSS Asylum and Appeals Section is undertaking work in the following areas:

- Work on the evaluation of the changes arising from the White Paper and Immigration & Asylum Act 1999, with the emphasis on contributing to policy development and/or operational effectiveness

  Research and evaluation projects are being developed for a variety of policy partners within the Home Office Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND) including an evaluation of the implications of providing access to early legal representation for the quality and sustainability of the initial decision. This work is being conducted with the Refugee Legal Centre (RLC) and Immigration Advisory Service (IAS)

- Research on the impact of asylum policies and practice on asylum applications in the EU

  The work for this project is being undertaken by Professor Roger Zetter and a team of researchers based at Oxford Brookes University. The research will provide chronological information on changes in asylum policy across EU states; review the available evidence about the impact of such changes; conduct a comparative analysis; and identify the requirements for additional research.

- The social networks of asylum seekers and the dissemination of information to the country of origin
  Dr Khalid Koser of University College London is conducting the research in this area. The project was formulated in response to the demand from policy makers for increased knowledge about the extent to which information about changes in asylum policy and practice is exchanged between the United Kingdom and refugee producing countries, and the mechanisms through which this process takes place.

- Research review "Asylum Policy and Process in the United Kingdom: Mapping the Field"
  The contractor for this project is the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick. This project will provide an overview of the existing and planned research undertaken in this area.

- Content and user evaluation of country information within asylum determination and appeals process
  This work is being undertaken internally by IRSS, and will investigate what country information is needed at different stages of the asylum and appeals process and assess whether the information currently provided meets the needs of users.

  In addition other parts of IRSS are undertaking detailed work on the characteristics and behaviour of asylum seekers and development of asylum policy, including the following:

- Asylum seekers survey
  Subject to the outcome of feasibility work being conducted by BMRB International, IRSS plans to commission a representative survey to generate information about the motivations, characteristics and experiences of asylum applicants. This will address key information requirements on, for example, travel routes, reasons for applying for asylum in the UK rather than other countries, and the socio-demographic characteristics of applicants. The survey will help inform the development and evaluation of a range of policy and operational measures.

- Understanding the decision-making of asylum seekers
  This research is being undertaken by Dr Vaughan Robinson of the University of Wales Swansea. The project seeks to explore the images asylum seekers had of the UK before arrival, and how these had been formed. It further aims to investigate why asylum seekers opt for one destination country as opposed to another, using the UK as a case study. The analysis of the information collected on 60 in-depth interviews with asylum seekers is underway.

Asylum Statistics

The Asylum and Appeals Section of IRSS is staffed by a mixture of statisticians, researchers and administrative analysts, all of whom work towards producing reliable information on asylum and appeals from both a national and international perspective.

Overall, the Asylum and Appeals section has a number of key responsibilities, which are:

- ensure that key research and statistical requirements are being met;
- guarantee that data on asylum and appeals are continuously tested for accuracy and reliability;
- reply to ad hoc enquiries from the general public and the press office;
- respond to parliamentary questions; and

- provide briefing to ministers and IND management.

On the statistical side, the Asylum and Appeals section is responsible for a number of key areas, including:

- developing a methodology to monitor the timeliness of an asylum decision;
- providing statistics on unaccompanied minors;
- forecasting asylum applications;
- estimating dependants;
- providing international comparisons of asylum figures to senior IND management and participating in the IGC Working Group.

The section produces an annual publication titled "Asylum Statistics, United Kingdom" and also a webpage which is updated each month to show asylum applications, decisions and appeals http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/immigration1.html

Enforcement Statistics

Enforcement data

- Covers the whole process from detection and serving of papers to removal from the UK
- Includes detention
- Main data currently supplied is to support the IND aims/targets on:
  - The removal of asylum seekers who no longer have a right to stay in the UK; and
  - The removal of non-asylum offenders.
- The section also contributes to a range of Home Office bulletins and publications
- The section is also responsible for answering Parliamentary questions, Ministers cases and a range of enquiries from Press and the general public
- Supports research in this area by providing background statistics and information

Data transfer from new and existing IND systems to IRSS

- Responsible for ensuring the availability of information from the new IT systems being developed by IND
- Relevant for research colleagues internally as there is a wealth of information on the end to end immigration processes that will be available from these systems
- Data protection issues need to be considered in this area
- Implications for the quality and availability of data to external researchers in the future.

Workshop papers and presentations

Dallal Stevens, School of Law, University of Warwick

I have been asked to give a brief presentation on key themes and issues in the UK asylum determination process. A statement made by Jack Straw in February 1999 highlighted the current Government's objectives for its new asylum policy and provides a useful starting-point:

> *'We want a fairer system that reflects our commitment to race equality and human rights; we want a faster system that is able to deal quickly with all applicants, whether visiting this country or seeking to remain here longer; and we want a firmer system, with strong control at ports and effective enforcement against those not entitled to stay.'*[1]

Since the arrival of the mantra 'fair, fast and firm' in the political discourse, there has been much discussion of its pertinence to recent changes in legislation as well as to asylum policy in general. This is a unique opportunity, with such a varied audience, to discuss, first, the value of such concepts as fairness, speed and firmness to the asylum process, and secondly, the extent to which such objectives have been achieved, or are on the way to being achieved.

Firm

To reverse the order of this famous trilogy, let's look first at the claim that asylum law is now much firmer than hitherto. Most would agree that the wide range of measures introduced by the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 enhanced the firmness of the UK asylum regime. With increased search and arrest powers for immigration officers and new civil penalties for those found transporting clandestine entrants, enforcement has never been stronger. Yet this fact is often lost on a media obsessed with numbers of new applicants and with those who manage to escape removal. If one accepts the argument that strong enforcement is an important deterrent to illegal migrants or to those knowingly exploiting the asylum system to gain entry, then increasing removals of failed asylum seekers or illegal entrants is an understandable objective. It does not assist, however, those advocating a balanced perspective in the politically-charged asylum debate that the Home Office does not know how many people refused asylum leave of their own accord; nor does it help to learn that 'only a small proportion of those who entered the country illegally and those who have been refused asylum have actually been removed' (*Home Affairs First Report on Border Controls*). Indeed, public confidence in Oakington was recently dented when it transpired that enforcement action still needed to be taken against about 500 individuals still at large in the community. The Home Office has promised to improve the situation. While the *Home Affairs First Report on Border Controls*, published in January this year, concluded that the Home Office had been 'dilatory in enforcing the removal of people whose asylum claims have been refused and others who have gained illegal entry to the UK', it still considered the target of 30,000 removals in 2001-02 – a ten-fold increase over the 1999 figure – to be a 'very ambitious goal'.

Fast

Most contributors to the asylum debate now agree that speed is a necessary part of the asylum determination process. Not only is it seen to serve the best of the asylum seeker, but also an ineffective and inefficient system has been described by some as acting 'as a magnet' to asylum seekers. One solution advocated is front-loading the system: Ensuring speedy decisions but also decisions of high quality to reduce appeals. The speed of decision making has clearly improved, but there remains some dispute over improved quality. The Home

1 HC Deb vol 326 col 37 22 February 1999.

Office claims it is on target to deliver initial decisions within two months from April for the majority of cases and is already achieving the two plus four month time frame for most family cases. However, acceleration may impact on fairness and perhaps the clearest example of this is the on-going situation with statement of evidence forms and the tight 14-day deadline for return of information. Practitioners have long considered this to be unnecessarily restrictive and indicative of the Home Office's concern with process at the possible risk of fairness. Some improvements have been made here with the Home Office recently agreeing to consider information received after the 14 day deadline but before a decision has been taken; the applicant will not, however, be invited to an interview.

One option for improved decision-making is to move increasingly to the Oakington model. Oakington seems to be having a good press of late. While statistics might suggest success – by 1 December 2000, about 86% of applicants had received initial decisions while at Oakington (2,170 of 2,534 applicants), and of the appeals, only a few have been allowed (16 of 654 heard by November 2000) - concerns still continue about the use of holding centres to process applicants. For example, it recently came to light that 38 Iraqi nationals were being held at Oakington; Iraqi nationals have not generally been viewed as having manifestly unfounded claims and have been relatively successful in their applications; recent statistics reveal a shifting attitude with an increase in refusals (87% in January 2001). Compared with a refusal rate of 14% for the year 1999, the chances of success have dropped dramatically. This may reflect, of course, the rise in applications from Iraq, which now heads the table of applications, but it does raise questions about how and when attitudes to certain nationalities change in the Home Office and the basis for such decisions. Before the Oakington model is adopted as the solution to many of the problems associated with the present system, it must be examined more closely by independent researchers.

Fair

Mr Straw described a fair system as being one committed to race equality and human rights, but surely it extends beyond this? The issue of fairness pervades the whole determination process, as this brief overview has already shown, and one can argue about the equity or otherwise of various recent amendments to law and policy. In this area, statistics are often bandied about to support one or other argument. Thus, for example, the Home Office has cited an 80% dismissal rate on appeals as indicative of fairness at the heart of decision-making, while practitioners (ILPA) have countered that 1 in 5 decisions are wrong and of these 25% are due to non-compliance refusals. The most obvious area for question of the concept of fairness is in relation to detention. Here concerns continue about the operation and management of some detention centres, lack of regulation, the availability and standards of the medical facilities for detainees, lack of in-depth reasons for detention, and increasing periods of detention. Stephen Boys Smith has recently agreed with ILPA to set up a Detention Stakeholder Group, which should help address problems raised by practitioners. This is particularly necessary in view of the projected increase this year in IND detention places by some 2000, bringing the total to 2,500.

A further aspect that certainly needs looking at on the grounds of fairness is the separation of decision-maker and claimant and the lack of involvement of the decision-maker in the interviewing process. The introduction of face-to-face interviewing might improve decisions, so long as there was proper training. We are probably all familiar with Heaven Crawley's excellent report on the inadequacies of interviewing at ports (*Breaking down the Barriers – A Report on the Conduct of Asylum Interviews at Ports,* 1999). Sadly, there is still evidence to suggest that interviews have been irregularly conducted – for example, substantive asylum interviews at the ASU were carried out in the absence of their previously engaged representatives, a situation that has now been remedied.

Conclusion

In February 2001, in a speech to the Institute of Public Policy Research, Mr Straw expanded on his Lisbon statement of July last year. He identified three areas that could be improved:

1. We must help the countries concerned to make conditions in the regions of origin better

2. We must make it easier for genuine refugees to access the protection regimes of Europe and other Western States, for example by making their journeys less hazardous

3. We must ensure that those who are refugees are actively dissuaded from seeking to benefit unjustly from the terms of the 1951 Convention.

The third proposal clearly relates to the determination process and Mr Straw suggested that, in order to deter misuse of the asylum process, claims needed to be processed quickly. In addition to a number of domestic measures which states could employ, he outlined some collective measures: (1) an EU- or internationally-agreed list of safe third countries or groups from which asylum applications would be ruled inadmissible or considered under a greatly accelerated process; (2) the development of common asylum policies to reduce 'asylum shopping'. Jack Straw's speeches have been welcomed since they have opened a much-needed debate on the future of asylum and refugee law in the 21st century, but the wider implications for UK asylum seekers need to be addressed, and this gathering provides a useful forum for the discussion of such issues.

I think it is important that a broader perspective is also adopted about the way forward for asylum policy. The title of this conference 'Bridging the Information Gaps' suggests perhaps a sharing of current and past research between academics, the Home Office, and other interested parties. I think it should also be used as an opportunity to project forward and to incorporate a broader academic input to policy development than has hitherto been the case.

Hugo Storey, Immigration Appellate Authority (IAA)

The IAA is a two-tier body[2] set up by the Immigration Appeals Act 1969. An asylum appeal lies at first instance to an adjudicator. Thereafter it lies to the Immigration Appeal Tribunal. For the first 16 years of the IAA`s existence adjudicators were Home Office appointees. Following a Transfer of Functions Order in 1987, adjudicators and the Tribunal are appointed by the Lord Chancellor. The trend has been to enhance the IAA`s judicial status. The previous two Chief Adjudicators have been Circuit Judges. The new Chief Adjudicator just appointed is His Honour Judge Henry Hodge. Following a 1999 Government White Paper it was decided to 'beef up' the status of the Immigration Appeal Tribunal. That was reflected by the appointment as President in early 2000 of Mr Justice Collins. Despite increased judicialisation the IAA is acutely conscious of the need to decide asylum cases with 'anxious scrutiny' in view of the importance of the issues at stake. It also seeks to bear in mind that for many asylum-seekers the hearing before an adjudicator is their first major encounter with and experience of British justice. How a hearing is conducted can be as significant a factor as its outcome in shaping their view of this country.

2 The term IAA also includes the Special Immigration Appeals Commission (SIAC) which hears national security cases. SIAC is not covered in this paper.

Vital statistics

We lack comprehensive statistics about ourselves and our workings. Given the seriousness of the issues we decide, it is not ideal that we are so little researched. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the number of adjudicators remained below 40. Since the introduction of a statutory right of asylum appeal in the 1993 Immigration and Asylum Act, there has been a tenfold expansion. The latest batch of appointments has brought the total number of appointments to 438, made up of 77 full-timers and 361 part-timers. Of these 114 are women and 324 are men (just over one in three). In terms of race and ethnic origin, the situation as at 17 April 2000 was that there were 263 white persons and 25 of ethnic origin (9 black and 16 Asian). That is just under one in eleven. On the Tribunal side too there has recently been a significant expansion. Alongside the President and Deputy President (Mr C M G Ockelton) there are 13 Vice-Presidents. Part-timer legal members, who include several circuit judges, number 36. The sex and race ratios are comparable.

It is fair to say that since the 1970s and 1980s there has been a dramatic change in the Lord Chancellor's Department's approach to adjudicator recruitment. From the early days when all appointees were persons from a colonial service background, candidates are now chosen from diverse backgrounds. Of course, since adjudicators are still drawn almost wholly from qualified solicitors and barristers with 7 years' experience, the pool remains relatively limited. I say 'drawn almost wholly' because in the 1999 Act an amendment was made enabling persons to qualify who had 'legal and other experience'[3]. This provision has so far been used to appoint one or two academic lawyers and one or two persons who are doing the same job in other Commonwealth countries. I should also mention that whilst at the adjudicator level there is no lay element, at the Tribunal level the typical tribunal sits with one legal chairman flanked by one or two lay members.

Number and disposal of asylum appeals

Ours is a high-volume appeals system. In 2000 the number of appeals made was 46,190. Of these just under 30,000 were sent to the IAA. Out of (just under) 20,000 appeals determined, the IAA allowed 3,340 or 17%. They dismissed 80%. There is currently no backlog. One of the IND targets is to reduce the average time taken to complete an asylum appeal (in conjunction with LCD) to 4 months or less. The IAA is currently[4] achieving that.

Appellants and representatives

In answers we gave to a recent ECRE Questionnaire, we estimated that about 60% of asylum seekers are represented before adjudicators by a fully trained lawyer, 20% by NGO legal advisers (RLC, IAS), 15% by 'others', leaving about 5% unrepresented. We were quite clear that representation makes a significant difference to the outcome of appeals. As regards legal advice and assistance, this is available free from RLC and IAS plus certain other bodies. In addition most asylum seekers qualify for free legal assistance by virtue of meeting the means test. Legal aid used to be limited to the preparation stages. With the introduction of controlled legal representation (CLR) legal aid is now available for the hearing subject to a merits test. Probably around 60-70% of applicants are now funded by CLR. As regards the quality of advice and assistance, it remains variable but the quality is improving, in part due to an increasing use of Counsel on CLR. The nonqualified immigration consultant sector has long been a source of great concern to us. The 1999

3 Sch 2 1999 Act para 1(d) 'he has such legal and other experience as appears to the Lord Chancellor to make him suited for appointment as a legally qualified member'. Prior to the 1999 Act adjudicators (not legal members of the Tribunal) could be laypersons. However, since 1986 LCD policy had been to appoint only persons who were legally qualified.

4 Hansard Written Answers 9 Feb 2001 775W, Jane Kennedy: 'The average time taken by the Immigration Appellate Authority from receipt to determination in the period 1 April 2000 to 31 January 2001 is 15.4 weeks for an asylum appeal and 22.1 weeks for a non-asylum appeal.'

Act has established an Immigration Services Commissioner[5] with a duty to regulate this sector through a system of registration. The ISC is under a general duty to promote good practice by those providing such services. It is too soon to see whether the new system will effectively purge the incompetent and unscrupulous.

We are aware of serious concerns on the part of the Law Society, ILPA and other bodies about the negative impact of the dispersal system on the availability of legal assistance along with other services. Solicitors continue to find that it is hard to do a good job and make asylum work pay at the same time. In response to the dispersal system the IAA has opened new centres in the North. We know that the RLC and the IAS have expanded their staff outside of London.

International nature of IAA jurisdiction

It is important to mention one distinctive feature of our jurisdiction. We are probably more internationally involved and internationally influenced than any other jurisdiction in the UK. That is not simply because we have to decide cases under criteria as set out in an international treaty – the 1951 Refugee Convention. It is also because we have increasingly sought to orient our own case law around the large body of international refugee law built up in other countries, the Anglo-American countries in particular. Overseas developments also influence our own practices and procedures. For example in November 2000 we published *Asylum Gender Guidelines* modelled on those introduced earlier by Canada, Australia, the USA and UNHCR. At page 43 this advises that in gender-sensitive cases consideration be given to: 1) provision of a female interpreter; 2) provision of an all female panel (adjudicator, HOPO, interpreter); hearing of the appeal in a more informal environment such as that adopted by the family courts; (4) hearing the case 'in chambers', (5) excluding family members; (6) making the determination anonymous; (7) allowing evidence of sexual assault to be given by means other than in court oral testimony. The influences go both ways. UK Tribunal as well UK court cases are highly regarded abroad and a number of IAA members have been and are involved in training asylum judges in other countries.

Objectives of the 1999 Act in relation to asylum appeals

The modern concept of administrative justice has as one of its objectives that a person should have a right of appeal against an adverse decision of the executive before a body, which is not only impartial and independent but also has a full power to look at the merits as well as the legality of the decision. That is an objective embodied in UK legislation since 1969 and it remains central to the 1999 Act. Other objectives reflected in the 1999 Act's provisions dealing with appeals include legal certainty and administrative efficiency. It must be presumed that in pursuit of these objectives, both Parliament and the executive desire an appellate authority that disposes of disputes in a way which is not just firm, fast and fair but is also final. The aim appears to be that when the appeal file comes back from the IAA to the Home Office it has had all key legal questions resolved. Action on the file would then be limited to ensuring that successful appellants were granted refugee status and leave to remain whilst unsuccessful appellants became enforcement cases. Evaluating how the new system of asylum appeals is measuring up to these objectives involves to a certain extent observing how the 1999 Act sought to meet major criticisms voiced during before and after the 1999 White Paper.

5 IAA 99 PT 5 and Schedule 5.

'The one-stop-shop'

One major criticism was that the appeals system was being too easily manipulated by claimants intent on spinning out the appeal process. The 1999 Act introduced reforms designed to streamline the appeals system. Its showpiece is the 'one-stop shop'. Since 2 October 2000, this has required an asylum-seeker to raise all the grounds on which he bases his claim to remain in the UK in his application[6]. Its aim is to prevent claimants having one, two or more bites at the cherry. It is too early to tell how successful it is proving.

Consistent decision-making

Another main criticism was that both primary and IAA decision-making lacked consistency. Through the appointment of a High Court judge as President of the Tribunal and other changes in the procedure rules, some active steps have been taken to meet this criticism. Mr Justice Collins has introduced a system of 'starred appeals' which must be followed by other Tribunal members and adjudicators alike. The Tribunal is being centralised: it is shortly to move to separate premises and appeals to it from other centres will be conducted by video-link. Another important trend shaping the work of the Tribunal and the higher courts alike has been the increasingly international focus of our case law. If one looks at major cases in the House of Lords such as *Shah and Islam*[7] and *Adan*[8] one sees that many of the authorities relied upon include overseas cases. More and more decisions of the Tribunal are following suit. This trend makes for much more consistency since principles forged by reference to leading international cases tend to have greater clarity, reliability and rationality. Highly significant in the growth of this trend in the UK has been the fact that an increasing number of adjudicators and Tribunal members, together with several senior judges, are members of the International Association of Refugee Law Judges (IARLJ) which brings together judicial decision-makers from over 70 countries and is apparently the second largest international body of judges in the world.

I am also told by practitioners that over the past year the Tribunal has come to be seen as a much more authoritative body. Certainly I observe that the higher courts pay greater deference to our decisions than in the past. This raises the question whether the Home Office should not revise its own instructions to caseworkers more immediately in the light of Tribunal decisions rather than waiting for decisions of the higher courts. Bearing in mind the enhanced status of the Tribunal and the fact that the courts, unlike the Tribunal, get to deal with only a relatively small number of key issues, a failure to respond more immediately to Tribunal determinations creates an uncertain hiatus. In general Home Office officials seem to us painfully slow on occasions to adjust their ADIs to decisions of either the Tribunal or the higher courts. Reasons for refusal letters, for example, continue to trot out that private actors such as skinheads/opposition political parties etc can never qualify as agents of persecution. That has not been the legal position in the UK for a long time and any doubts about it should have been laid to rest once and for all by the House of Lords judgement of July 2000 in the case of *Horvath*[9].

It must be said, however, that with the huge expansion in the number of adjudicators at the first-tier level, and the increase in the numbers on the Tribunal, improvement in the level of consistent decision-making hinges largely on adequate background materials and quality training, both induction training for newcomers and refresher training for experienced hands. The IAA`s Legal and Research Unit regularly produces case law summaries and keeps adjudicators updated with relevant country information. With the introduction of the Human Rights Act 1998 and the advent of a new race discrimination jurisdiction under the Race Relations

6 IAA 99 sections 74-8.
7 Shah and Islam [1999] Imm AR 283.
8 Adan [1998] Imm AR 338.
9 Horvath [2000] Imm AR 552

(Amendment) Act 2000, the 2000/2001 period has seen a frenzy of training. Unless a regular programme continues in place, however, efforts to improve consistency may prove wasted. Despite the huge expansion in the number of adjudicators the resources devoted to the IAA`s Research and Legal Unit remain relatively meagre. Whether the one-stop system and the drive for greater consistency of IAA decision-making are enough on their own to achieve the system objectives mentioned earlier is open to doubt. There are several continuing problems.

Problems with non-compliance appeals

One concerns Home Office procedures in non-compliance appeals. Currently around one in three of refused asylum claims are refused on non-compliance grounds[10]. The introduction of the SEF procedure with its tight time-limits has meant that in many cases that come before adjudicators, the appellant has had no or only slight substantive consideration of his asylum claim. The Tribunal has taken the view that an asylum appeal cannot be refused on non-compliance grounds alone and that an adjudicator must consider the substantive claim on the basis of what is before him[11]. It was hoped that in response the Home Office would put in place procedures to ensure that late-submitted substantive evidence was looked at before the IAA disposed of the appeals. That has not always happened. We remain concerned that adjudicators are being pressured as a result to become *de facto* first-instance decision-makers. To pressure them to act thus distorts the proper function of a viable appeal system.

Problems with Home Office representation at asylum appeals

The 1999 Act retained an appeals system predicated on the adversarial model. This system places a high value on the adjudicator being able to act as a neutral umpire ensuring 'equality of arms' between the parties. Unfortunately problems of staffing have resulted in Home Office Presenting Officers failing in a significant number of cases to appear at asylum hearings. That places an adjudicator in an awkward position, since it is vital to his judicial function that he does not 'descend into the arena'. Yet at the same time the *raison d`etre* of a hearing is to test the appellant's evidence. Both the courts and the Tribunal have condemned the practice of HOPO non-attendance.[12] From the IAA point of view the better the quality of the Presenting Officer the more efficient is the overall treatment of the asylum claim, as regards both its appeal and non-appeal aspects. It is all very well to extol the virtues of 'front-loading' quality decision-making. But if at the appeal stages the HOPO does not do a quality job, it can lead to too many cases simply going back round the system. It may be that no real change will happen unless and until the status of Presenting Officers is enhanced by placing them on a higher salary scale and endowing them with more extensive powers to concede cases[13]. Perhaps other models such as the CPS need looking at.

The limited nature of an asylum appeal

To the man in the street the asylum-seeker claims asylum. If and when the Secretary of State refuses and he appeals, the IAA's job is to decide whether he should after all be granted asylum. In fact things are rather more fragmented. Asylum appeals exist to ensure UK compliance with its international obligations under the 1951 Refugee Convention. Yet the adjudicator or Tribunal does not decide on refugee status. That remains a matter for the Secretary of State. That is because the statutory framework does not provide for a free-standing asylum appeal against refusal of a claim for refugee status. Rather the appeal is against various immigration

10 Home Office statistics for January 2001 listed 3,495 non-compliance refusals out of a total of 10,935.
11 Al-Haddad [2000] INLR 117.
12 See e.g. the starred Tribunal case MNM v Secretary of State (53882/2000).
13 They have been given increased powers to concede cases but problems remain in both ECO and IO cases.

decisions and our sole role is to decide whether a personas removal in consequence of those decisions is contrary to the 1951 Convention[14]. Furthermore insofar as these decisions include a decision by the Secretary of State to give directions for a person's removal from the UK, our jurisdiction does not extend to reviewing whether those directions are or are not appropriate; it is limited to deciding whether they are lawful. The statutory framework governing removal directions[15] is still the same as it was under the 1971 Act. It was simply not designed to deal with the complex refoulement problems posed by a high-volume asylum appeal system nearly 30 years later. In a recent decision of the Tribunal on an Afghan hijack appeal [Number 19 and the Secretary of State for the Home Department (01/TH/0093)], the Tribunal decided that the failure of the Secretary of State to specify which country he proposed to remove the appellants to meant that their cases had to be adjourned sine die until he did so.

The exclusion of asylum policy issues

Another indication of the limited scope is that in the context of an asylum appeal we cannot consider issues of Home Office policy. On the immigration side, by contrast, our statutory duties require us to consider whether in relation to any decision the Secretary of State has properly applied any concessionary policy that he has – e.g. to allow a more generous approach than under the Immigration Rules to dependent children under 12[16]. Given that a significant number of concessionary policies operate on the asylum side, it is not clear that this exclusion helps efficient disposal of cases. To get a judicial ruling on whether they have been applied properly, claimants have to go to the courts, increasing their caseload into the bargain[17]. Moreover in the nature of things the relevance of a policy often comes to light only at the stage when the asylum decision is being appealed. Sometimes this can lead to decisions being withdrawn or conceded. But of course by that stage the state has had to bear the expense of the appeals process. Thus it remains the case that the IAA is quite often hearing cases that are not in fact going anywhere anyway. Arguably more IAA supervision of asylum policy decisions could save on executive time and would appear to accord better with the one-stop shop philosophy.

The exclusion of status issues

A further indication of the limited scope of asylum appeals is that there is no IAA supervision of Home Office decisions about status. The current immigration rules provide that persons to whom the Secretary of State decides to grant 'asylum' shall be granted *limited* leave[18]. This co-exists with a more generous Home Office policy under which persons who win their asylum appeals are simultaneously granted refugee status (an international status) and ILR (*indefinite* leave to remain). But that is simply a policy (prior to July 1998 those granted refugee status were in the first instance given only exceptional leave to remain). Once again, it is arguable that direct power being given to an adjudicator or the Tribunal to direct grant of both refugee status and an immigration status (currently ILR) could ensure judicial control over executive follow-up without the need for litigation in the higher courts.

14 See Diriye (00 TH 2331), an August 2000 Tribunal determination.
15 Paragraphs 8-10 Sch 2 Immigration Act 1971.
16 The leading case on items of policy in immigration appeals is Abdi[1996]Imm AR 148..
17 E.g. ex parte Deniz Mersin [2000] INLR 511 Mr Justice Elias ruled that as a successful appellant had a right or something akin to a right to be granted refugee status and the benefit of ILR status normally granted with it within a reasonable period, a delay of 7.5 months was unlawful.
18 Paras 330 and 335 HC395.

Broadening of the overall appeals framework:

The oddity of the limited scope of the asylum appeal has been increased by changes made by recent legislation, in both the 1999 Act and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. Effectively, and this reflects the Act's one-stop-shop philosophy, the adjudicator has become more of a multi-dimensional judicial decision-maker.

Human rights appeals

Up until 2 October 2000 the typical asylum appeal was just that: an asylum appeal only. In a relatively small number of cases there was also a concurrent appeal against a decision to deport. As a result of the Human Rights Act 1998 and s. 65 of the 1999 Act, the typical asylum appeal has become a two-headed affair. Alongside the asylum appeal the adjudicator is also deciding the appeal on human rights grounds. In asylum-related cases this is not likely in many cases to make much material difference to the outcome. It does, however, mean that adjudicators must examine issues related not just to the person's country of origin but also those concerning his situation in the UK. In particular they have to conjointly look in human rights terms at whether or not a person's family or private life ties in or to the UK violate Article 8 of the ECHR. Furthermore, whereas as explained earlier the statutory framework excludes them from looking at policy under the rubric of the asylum appeal, the Human Rights Act jurisdiction requires adjudicators to afford an appropriate remedy. That also brings into play issues of whether directions should be made concerning what immigration status an asylum-seeker should have. It must be said that these concurrent jurisdictions do not fit together perfectly. Whereas Strasbourg jurisprudence requires that we look at the risk of return as at the date of hearing, the 1999 Act requires us to look at it as at the date of decision, except in relation to Art 3. Section 65, which confers on us a specific human rights jurisdiction, and is also phrased in the past tense. That sits uneasily with the structure of the Human Rights Act 1998 which at s. 7(1)(a) requires us to consider decisions which are proposals to act.

Race discrimination appeals under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000

As from April 2, 2001 adjudicators will also have to consider whether in the course of the asylum decision there has been any unlawful discrimination on grounds of colour or race. There are fewer problems in running together an asylum and race discrimination appeal, since the latter will usually be quite discrete from the former. But the introduction of the race discrimination appeal is likely to see an increase in claims of discrimination on grounds other than race or colour (Art 14 of the ECHR in particular).

a) Certified appeals

In an increasing number of cases appeals come before the adjudicator as certified appeals. The objective behind certification is to 'fast-track' cases that lack merit. Since 1996 the grounds on which the Secretary of State can certify an appeal have been diverse. As a result of the addition to the list of human rights appeals and race discrimination appeals that are manifestly unfounded, the grounds for certifying an appeal have become even more various. To adjudicators such appeals pose an additional set of legal tests they have to decide upon. They have to decide upon them with care, in the knowledge that if they uphold the Secretary of State's certificate there is a statutory bar on any further appeal to the Tribunal. Whilst one can say that these concurrent jurisdictions result in a more comprehensive judicial supervision of asylum claims, one can equally say that they make for a highly complicated appeals process.

b) General country information problems

We have complained over the years about the fact that appellants' representatives often submit unmanageably large amounts of general country materials. Of course objective country materials are crucial to our decision-making, but quantity can submerge quality. The IAA now requires parties to liaise to produce a single bundle compiled by the parties jointly with relevant passages highlighted. Obviously our preference is for materials that are properly sourced.

c) Expert evidence problems

Quite often a claimant submits an expert's report. Typically the expert is an academic with specialist knowledge of a particular country. I am bound to say that the IAA continues to feel that experts and those instructing them do not always appreciate what is required by the courts of an expert witness. In a recent starred determination of the Tribunal in a case called *Slimani*[19], Mr Justice Collins reminded expert witnesses of their duty of impartiality before the court and the need for them to eschew individual assessment of the credibility of an individual asylum claim. It may be that there needs to be a conference bringing together such experts and representatives from the IAA with a view to achieving a better understanding of our respective roles when evaluating general country materials.

d) Medical evidence problems

We continue to experience somewhat similar difficulties with medical evidence, e.g. commissioned reports saying that a person has been tortured or that his or her scarring would cause authorities in their country of origin to view them as terrorists. We benefit greatly from medical evidence in such cases, but too frequently we find that the content of the report makes no clear distinction between the subjective facts (what the appellant says to the doctor happened to him) and the objective facts (what is the likely aetiology of his injuries or illness). We tend to place more weight on reports that confine themselves to making a clinical judgement as compared with those that purport to evaluate the refugee claim. The latter is the task of an adjudicator, not a doctor.

e) The IAA and new technology

Like all sections of the judiciary our work is becoming increasingly influenced by new technology. Experiments are afoot with voice recognition typing. There is talk of case bundles being put onto disks. Soon all adjudicators and the Tribunal will have direct access to the internet and to specialist websites that contain indexed case law, the Electronic Immigration Network (EIN) in particular. The Tribunal may soon conduct out-of-London cases by video-link. Bail hearings before adjudicators may soon take place by video. The pace of change is really too fast for the IAA to devote any research time to it on its own.

f) Detention issues

In view of the new statutory framework dealing with bail set out in the 1999 Act, the IAA is in the process of revising its bail guidelines for adjudicators. This short paper is not the place to outline the problems posed to the IAA by the need to ensure practice and procedures are exemplary. Amongst the difficulties being experienced is that of resolving how exactly Articles 5 and 6 of the European Convention of Human Rights impact on existing criteria.

19 Slimani (01/TH/00092).

Vaughan Robinson, Migration Unit, University of Wales Swansea

Summary of current research on the decision-making of asylum seekers (Home Office funded)

Project objectives

Our research had two objectives:

- To explore how and why a sample of asylum seekers had 'chosen' to migrate to the UK in preference to other possible destinations;
- To incorporate in our explanations, those values, attitudes and expectations that were subliminally held by asylum seekers but which nevertheless informed their decision-making.

Methodology

Our project starts from the assumption that asylum seekers are active agents who seek information and make decisions. We interviewed 65 people in 63 households, with each taped interview lasting 80-120 minutes. Where necessary, interpreters were used. Although we did not aim to generate a statistically representative sample we ensured that our sample contained a wide variety of asylum seekers who had very different experiences. The sample included:

- men and women;
- a range of age groups;
- respondents who had been living in the UK for differing lengths of time;
- people at different stages of the asylum procedure;
- a mix of single asylum seekers and family groups, including female headed households;
- asylum seekers held in detention, and asylum seekers/refugees living in the community.

Gaining trust and honesty

We made contact with potential respondents via refugee organisations who knew and trusted us. We found the issues of trust and honesty to be central to the conduct of our field research, and we adopted strategies to maximise these. We explained the purpose of the survey fully and honestly to each potential interviewee, and openly admitted the relationship we had with the Home Office. Before the interview, we ensured that the flyer we distributed to potential respondents contained information about ourselves and our careers. We encouraged people to ring us to discuss the project and any concerns they might have about it. During the interview we tried to create an atmosphere of trust and openness. The room was laid out informally, the microphone and tape-recorder were discreetly placed and most respondents were offered a soft drink on arrival. At the start of the interview we ensured that we made physical contact with the interviewee where this was culturally appropriate, usually through either handshakes or a hug. And we tried to introduce humour into proceedings as quickly as possible to dispel any impression that we were cold or impersonal technocrats. To the same end we also gave considerable thought to what clothes we wore for particular interviews. The difference in age between the main researchers was also valuable since it allowed us to relate to respondents of different ages. We tried to adopt body language that was open and trusting, and we provided a great deal of enthusiastic and confirmatory feedback to respondents. When respondents became upset by recounting their experiences, we ensured that tissues were available, we halted the interview until the

respondent was ready to continue, and we did not intrude on the respondent's grief. Finally, we felt that a good measure of the degree to which we had won the trust of our respondents was their willingness to endorse our research to other potential interviewees. Both in Tinsley House and in the community, former interviewees often became our main supporters and facilitators.

A number of factors led us to believe that our data were honest:

- A significant proportion of our respondents had nothing to lose by being honest with us. They had either already been granted the right to remain in Britain, or they knew that their application for asylum had failed and that they were about to be deported;
- Once they trusted us, many respondents volunteered highly-sensitive information relating to issues in which we were not directly interested: for example, detailed information about illegal immigration routes, mechanisms, prices and agents;
- Some of our respondents were honest to the point where it would have damaged their asylum claim had we been collecting information for the Home Office. A very small number of respondents, for example, told us that they had migrated to Britain simply to find work, and that they had used the asylum channel of immigration because they thought it would maximise their chances of entry;
- A number of our respondents kept in contact with the project and us after their interviews, which would have been unlikely if they had been deliberately dishonest during the interview.

However, although there were these independent indicators that our data are honest and that our findings are therefore verifiable, we did take steps to maximise the likelihood of responses being honest. Two strategies were particularly important in this context.

First we established our own position with respondents in such a way that we were seen as temporary 'friends', not critical and detached scientists. At the start of the interview we explained our interest in them as people and in their experiences, and we gave each respondent an extended opportunity to tell us about the circumstances that led to their flight, even though this information was not strictly essential to the project. At the beginning and end of the interview we explained that we wished our research to challenge media stereotypes about asylum seeking and asylum seekers. This willingness to 'take sides' early in the interview was often pivotal in the conduct of the interview, with its mood, content and quality changing quite markedly after that point. A number of respondents even told us that they were desperate for us to act as a voice for asylum seekers and tell the world (and the Home Office) the 'real story' of asylum seeking.

Second, during the interview we adopted a strategy of triangulation, through continual probing. The conversations were managed in such a way that the same information was requested in different ways and at different points in the interview, so that the veracity of answers could be checked. Connections were continually sought between disparate answers, too.

Preliminary findings

A key finding was that many asylum seekers had effectively had little choice but to flee from their country of origin. Persecution, violence, the threat of violence, and war drove people to leave. As a result, they were more concerned with departure than with their eventual destination. This was particularly true of 'acute refugees'.

One of the main forces channelling migrants to particular destinations was agents. They provided a variety of services to asylum seekers, often determined by the power relationship between the two actors. Where asylum seekers had already decided their destination and could afford to pay for the migration, the agent simply facilitated travel. Where asylum seekers had little idea of where they wanted to travel to, or had limited resources, the agent often directed them to particular destinations, possibly without discussion. In most cases, the relationship was more equal: the agent would steer the asylum seeker towards particular countries, but the asylum seeker would make the final choice. Most asylum seekers were therefore in the 'middle ground', making choices from a restricted range of possibilities.

A key finding was that asylum seekers seldom felt safe in countries that adjoined their country of origin. However, they rarely had the resources to take them to distant lands. So, again, they could choose only within the 'middle ground'. For example, asylum seekers who really wanted to go to the United States might have to choose instead from a range of European countries offered them by an agent.

Many asylum seekers were able to exercise some choice over their eventual destination. For this group, several factors were found to underlie their choice: images of different countries; the presence of friends and family in different countries; and the advice they received from others. Most respondents had regarded Britain as a safe, democratic and modern country populated by clean, formal, punctual and efficient people who were rather 'cold', if not actually racist. Colonial linkages were also important sources of knowledge and perceptions. Many of our respondents had previous contact with Britain through colonialism and this led them to believe that Britain would respond to their needs, and that it was a country with cultural similarities to their own. The English language was very important here, as was the belief that Britain had a world-class educational system. The presence of family and friends in Britain was often a decisive factor – in some cases, it was the only factor considered.

We found no evidence that asylum seekers had a detailed knowledge of asylum policies in different countries or that this knowledge was pivotal to decision-making. There was no indication that asylum seekers had extensive knowledge of what welfare benefits they might receive in Britain or in other potential destinations. Indeed many seemed pleasantly surprised by their treatment. Most respondents expected to have to, and wished to, support themselves in their country of asylum. They therefore expected to be able to work soon after arriving in the UK. We found no evidence that asylum seekers had been attracted to the UK by the availability of work here, or by perceived variations in wage rates within Europe. Most of our respondents wished only to live in peace in a democracy, and to be allowed to earn a modest living through honest endeavour. We found little support for the media stereotypes of asylum seekers as 'scroungers', or as calculating maximisers selecting destinations on the basis of which country was currently thought to be the 'softest touch'.

Workshop 3: International Labour Migration

Participants

Besim Ajeti (IOM)
Pam Bland (RDS)
Verity Gelsthorpe (IRSS)
Keith Jackson (IRSS)
Christophe Prince (IND)
Sandy Ruxton (Oxfam)
Carole Willis (ERA)
Bridget Anderson (Oxford)
Christian Dustmann (UCL)
Ceri Gott (ERA)
Bill Jordan (Exeter)
Lucy Rix (Kalayaan)
John Salt (UCL)
Richard Black (Sussex)
Tony Fielding (Sussex)
Timothy Hatton (Essex)
Eleonore Kofman (Nottingham Trent)
Elizabeth Ruddick (CIC)
Fiona Steele (QM London)

IRSS/ERA Presentation

The Performance and Innovation Unit (PIU) of the Cabinet Office has identified a number of key strategic challenges, including migration. Migration is on an upward trend, and this reflects a number of factors:

- the current strength of the UK labour market;
- economic globalisation;
- increasing economic integration and labour market mobility within the EU;
- demographic changes;
- increased political instability around the world.

The recent Home Office publication "Migration: an economic and social analysis" suggests that migration produces economic and social benefits. However, not much is known about migration in the UK context, therefore more research is needed to fill the information gaps.

Migration is a cross-departmental issue, reflecting the need for a continuum between pre- and post- entry policy. Some relevant departmental aims are listed below:

- Home Office: To build a safe, just and tolerant society in which the rights and responsibilities of individuals, families and communities are properly balanced.
- DTI: To increase competitiveness and scientific excellence in order to generate higher levels of sustainable growth.
- DfEE: To give everyone a chance, through education, training and work, to realise their full potential.
- FCO: To promote internationally the interests of the UK and contribute to a strong world community.

A cross-departmental research programme has been developed, with the following projects either underway or identified for the future:

Underway

- labour market analyses of impacts and outcomes;
- innovators' evaluation;
- integration – migrants and refugees;
- fiscal effects;
- characteristics and motivation of asylum seekers;
- impact on source countries;
- illegal population

Identified

- public attitudes;
- push and pull factors;
- social impacts;
- congestion effects;
- international experience
- developing data sources

Workshop papers and presentations

J. Dobson, G. McLaughlan and J. Salt, University College London

International Migration and the United Kingdom: Recent Patterns and Trends

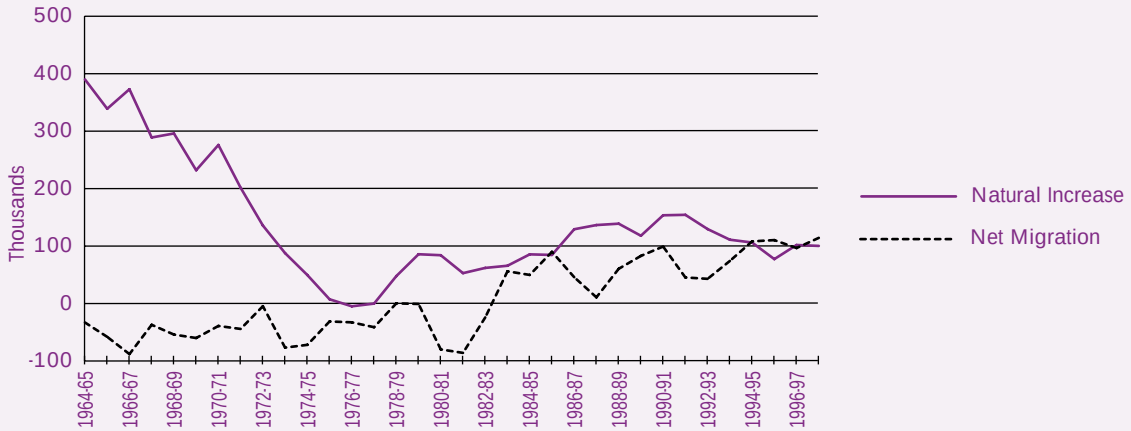
This brief paper is designed merely to illustrate some of the key findings of a study carried out in 2000-2001 for the Home Office on patterns and trends in international migration to and from the UK. A full report is due to be published by the Home Office later this year. The study as a whole aims to inform policy debate on international migration and its implications for the UK labour market. It analyses a range of data on trends and patterns of UK migration over the last 25 years, with a particular focus on the 1990s and on aspects which affect the labour supply. It examines the present locus of foreign workers in the economy, including the work permit system.

Current debate is tending to concentrate on three main propositions: a need for replacement migration because of demographic change; a need to compete in a global skills market to remain economically competitive; and a need to recruit overseas labour to meet specific skill shortages. There is often a failure to recognise that patterns of migration to and from the UK are complex, dynamic and difficult to pin down and that even definitions of a 'migrant' are variable, affecting estimates of number. Much of the analysis in the attached charts is based in nationality rather than country of birth.

Some principal findings

The following figures and tables illustrate some of the main findings: Figure 1 shows that in recent years migration has risen to become the main component of change in the UK population. Table 1 shows the predominance of young adults (aged 15-24) amongst non-British migrants with almost 2 million gross flows over the 25 year period, particularly noticeable is the big rise in this age group during the last period.

Figure 1: Components of total population change, Natural increase and Net migration, 1964-1998



Source: Council of Europe

Table 1: Flows of Non-British Nationals by Age, five year groups 1975-1999, thousands (unadjusted figures)

Inflows							
	Total	<15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-60	60/65+
1975-79	487.1	83.5	229.9	97.8	48.0	19.3	8.6
1980-84	467.3	108.5	191.3	92.0	47.1	22.1	6.3
1985-89	561.0	108.4	243.1	96.9	77.0	28.3	7.3
1990-94	607.5	95.3	265.1	134.9	76.9	27.9	7.4
1995-99	882.5	85.7	438.8	226.0	93.4	34.2	4.4
Total	3005.4	481.4	1368.2	647.6	342.4	131.8	34.0
Outflows							
	Total	<15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-60	60/65+
1975-79	298.3	48.0	99.6	90.3	37.1	17.4	5.9
1980-84	302.9	60.3	96.0	83.5	39.4	18.1	5.6
1985-89	349.0	70.4	103.0	84.7	54.1	26.1	10.7
1990-94	397.4	67.7	130.3	102.2	65.6	25.6	6.0
1995-99	408.0	45.1	149.1	133.1	48.6	26.2	5.9
Total	1755.6	291.5	578.0	493.8	244.8	113.4	34.1

(Source: IPS)

Table 2 shows the turn around during the period for professional and managerial, manual and clerical workers from substantial net losses to substantial net gains. Table 3 ranks citizenship groups according size of flows of employed migrants over the 25 year period and shows particularly the dominance of flows of Old Commonwealth and EU/EFTA.

Table 2: Unadjusted Figures IPS; Net flow of Employed Migrants by Occupational Group 1975-99 Five Year Groups (thousands)

	Professional and managerial	Manual and clerical	Total
1975-9	-67.6	-103.1	-170.7
1980-4	-52.8	-95.9	-148.7
1985-9	9.8	-12	-2.3
1990-4	13.3	5.3	18.6
1995-9	108.8	52.5	163.3
Total	11.5	-153.3	-141.8

(Source: IPS)

Table 3: Citizenship Groups Ranked According to Size of Flows of Employed Migrants in Each Five Year Period, 1975-99

Inflows

	1975-79	1980-84	1985-89	1990-94	1995-99
Old Commonwealth	1	3	1	1	1
EU/EFTA	2	2	2	2	2
East and Other Europe	6	6	6	6	6
Other Foreign Developed Countries	4	4	3	4	4
Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka	5	5	5	5	5
Rest of World	3	1	4	3	3

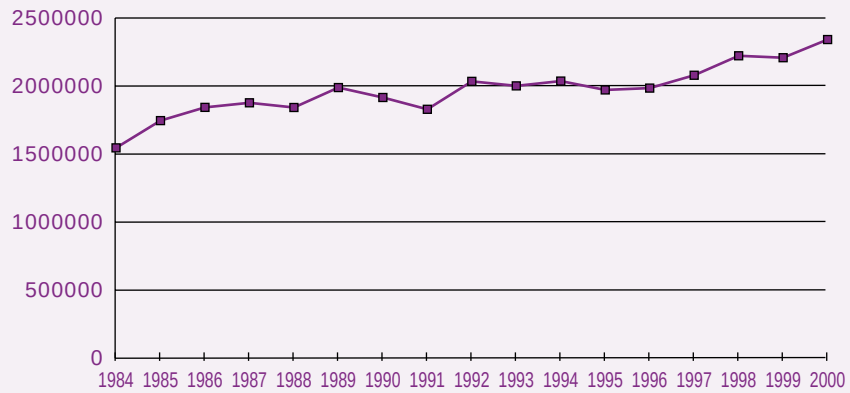
Outflows

	1975-79	1980-84	1985-89	1990-94	1995-99
Old Commonwealth	2	1	2	2	2
EU/EFTA	1	2	1	1	1
East and Other Europe	6	6	6	5	5
Other Foreign Developed Countries	4	3	3	3	3
Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka	5	5	5	6	6
Rest of World	3	3	4	4	4

(Source: IPS)

Figure 2 uses LFS data to show the steady rise in total foreign national population 1984-2000. Table 4 shows that in terms of broad socio-economic patterns British and foreign populations have a similar distribution although foreign population is relatively over-represented in the professional and managerial and under-represented in the others. Table 5 shows the main groups to whom work permits were granted in 2000. Around two thirds go to the four groups listed. Table 6 summarises the main 'routes of entry' for UK labour immigration in 1999. Of the overall total of 183,500, just under a third were work permit holders and one quarter working holiday makers.

Figure 2: Total Foreign Nationals in UK Population 1984-2000



Source: LFS

Table 4: Socio-Economic Group by Nationality, 2000 (per cent)

	Prof/Man	Other non-man	Manual
British	25.1	35.1	39.6
Foreign	30.5	32.8	36.5

(Source: LFS)

Table 5: Work Permits and First Permissions granted by Occupation, 2000

	Number	Per cent
All Occupations	64574	100.0
health associate professionals	14477	22.4
managers, administrators nes	11804	18.3
computer analysts, programmers	10470	16.2
engineers and technologists	6626	10.3

(Source: OLS)

Table 6: UK Labour Immigration 1999: Routes of Entry

	Number	Per cent
Work Permits	55494	30.2
Working Holidaymakers	45800	25.0
EU(1)	30000	16.3
Domestic Employees	14900	8.1
Au Pairs	14600	8.0
UK Ancestry	11900	6.5
Seasonal Agricultural Workers	9760	5.3
Ministers of Religion	1050	0.6
Total	183504	100.0

(Source: Home Office, IPS, OLS.)
(1) IPS Figure.

General conclusions

The analysis in the study has demonstrated very clearly that labour migration into the UK is not a new phenomenon, nor does it occur on a small scale. Indeed, during the last quarter century the UK has had a remarkably open door to both short- and long-term migration, a substantial part of both involving participation in the labour market. Moreover, the flows have been two-way. Historically, it was not until the mid-1980s that the UK effectively became a net importer of people, a position it has maintained since then. There is still a net loss of Britons but the inflow of foreign citizens more than makes up for this. What is most striking, however, is the large rise in migration in the late 1990s, and especially in 1998-9. The last few years have, in historical terms, been a novelty.

Eleonore Kofman, Nottingham Trent University

This paper argues that we require a broader conceptualisation of labour migration which takes into account the following aspects:

1. The place of the UK in the international context and the competition for skilled labour.

2. The implications of how we conceptualise labour migration to include the labour participation of non-labour forms of migration.

3. Gender aspects of labour migration,

1. UK in the International Context

There is an increasing dichotomy between skilled and unskilled whereby for the former borders are increasingly opening up. The traditional distinction between settlement and non-immigration countries is becoming more difficult to sustain. Settlement countries have imposed greater restrictions on family migration, including the consideration of skill levels (Australia) and encouraging temporary forms of skilled migration. The number of skilled permits has also been raised in some countries. The US has almost doubled its HIB visas i.e. work permits but not the green card which gives the right of residency. Inevitably these developments have meant an increasing competition for skilled labour, especially between the US, Canada and the UK.

At the same time EU states are now beginning to open up their migration systems, to varying degrees, to skilled labour. Since the summer of 2000, the UN Report on Replacement Migration has been widely cited and generated discussion about the implications of ageing and labour shortages which the indigenous population is seen as being unable to meet. Germany has begun to offer more work permits for skilled labour. The Sussmuth Report (July 2001) has finally accepted the idea that Germany has been for some time a country of immigration and will require fresh immigration to sustain its economy and population. It has recommended that 20,000 work permits (to be chosen on the basis of a point system) with a permanent right of abode and another 30,000 with limited right of residence for specific shortages and training be issued annually[20]. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, there has been little debate on these issues. French policy has made it easier for certain categories of skilled labour, such as scientists and researchers, to enter but has not opened up more widely its work permit. The greatest easing up in French policy has probably been in relation to the requirements for family migration.

20 *Guardian The* (2001) Germany to offer permanent future to skilled migrants, 5 July

Cultural factors and colonial and historical links however still play a part. The French equivalent of Indian IT specialists are Moroccans. Germany tends to entertain closer links with Eastern Europeans from where it has recruited many of its IT specialists. The recent Sussmuth report (July 2001) envisages that those granted work permits should be able to speak German. In effect many are being granted to those already in Germany who are on less secure statuses. The US is an attractive country for Indian doctors and thus competes in health as well as in IT with the UK Skilled migrants may also consider the likelihood of being able to settle in making their choice of country.

Polarisation between high and low skilled labour seems to be a Europe-wide phenomenon[21]. There has however in general been far less opening up of movement in unskilled labour which is still locked into the official idea that European states do not need less skilled labour. Its should be noted however that a number of states e.g. France do allow for seasonal agricultural labour. It is however clear that there are widespread shortages in hotel and catering, domestic work, industrial cleaning and agriculture in many European states.

2. Labour Inputs and Migration

In migration studies, each migrant is only allocated one reason for migration. Hence only those who have entered as labour migrants are considered to participate in the labour force and as such warrant attention. Yet in the UK and other European states, the largest number of legal permanent settlers have been family migrants. The simplification of migratory practices and strategies means that family migrants are believed to stay outside the labour force or possibly only undertake part-time jobs as a small source of pin money. For example, Fina-Sanglas[22] states that "migratory flows for reasons of family reunion have probably little connection on the labour market and therefore their effects on employment and wages are likely to be negligible. This flow is probably composed of women which probably explains the fact that participation rates of immigrant women are particularly low". Yet family migration is highly diversified, including in the UK, and not limited to the category of family reunion where spouses join the primary migrant or a second generation migrant brings in a spouse from their homeland. A large-scale Australian study (1994-1999) drew up a typology of five categories, including marriage migration arising from relationships established through increased international migration (students, work placements, travel etc)[23].

I would argue that the neglect of this form of migration and disinterest in its labour contribution stem from the entrenched and stereotypical image of female migrants that continues to permeate academic and migration studies[24]. Female migrants are treated as dependants following the employment-seeking male. The other group, whose labour input until recently has largely been ignored, has been asylum seekers and refugees. Given the increase in this category, a number of recent studies have emphasised their educational levels as well as the difficulties they face in entering the labour market, especially in skilled and professional employment.

These different modes of entry raise different issues for labour participation. In relation to the different forms of family migration the main issue is the extent to which family migrants wish and are able to enter the labour market. In the UK, unlike in some European countries, there is no restriction on entry into the labour market for family migrants. Labour migrants and students are also able to bring in spouses and children. We know very little about the employment intentions or the actual participation of family reunion migrants, male or female. It

21 Glover, S. et al. (2000) *Migration: an economic and social analysis*, London: HMSO, RDS Occasional Paper no. 67
22 Fina-Sanglas, L (2000) Europe's population and labourmarket beyond 2000. Main issues and policy implications, In A. Punch. and D. Pearce (eds) *Europe's Population and Labour Market Beyond 2000*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe
23 Khoo, S-E. (2001) The context of spouse migration to Australia, *International Migration* 39(10, 111-132
24 Kofman, E. (1999) Birds of passage a decade later: gender and immigration in the European Union, *International Migration Review* 33, 269-99.

is thought that many, who are supposedly unskilled, have tended to get employment in the informal sector. In France, where family reunion migrants have the right to work immediately, a study of entry into the labour market of foreigners[25] indicates that for the period 1990-1993 indirect entries constituted 29% of foreigners entering the labour market. The category of indirect entry encompasses children aged over 16, spouses and other family members entering under family reunion, refugees and their family members. One recent study in France of Portuguese female migrants (this group has a high labour force participation rate)[26] a sample drawn from a larger study of Geographical Mobility and Social Insertion of migrants and their children[27], examined their family and individual strategies in relation to employment.

Amongst family members entering with a labour migrant or trainee, and especially amongst professionals, we know that individuals often marry those of equal educational or social status. A number of migrants in the medical sector enter as couples and may engage in complex patterns of sharing opportunities where one member takes exams whilst the other works[28]. Again amongst expatriates, the phenomenon of the 'trailing spouse' is not uncommon[29] but this varies according to the ability and right to work of the spouse in the country and their social and cultural background. To gain a better understanding of family migration amongst professional and skilled migrants in particular we need to take into account changes in social structure, gender relations and educational levels. Even amongst the less skilled, there is evidence[30] of increasing educational levels. One of the major problems of family reunion migrants is that their qualifications may not be recognised.

Problems of non-recognition of qualifications of course constitute a key aspect of the inability of refugees to enter the labour market, at least without suitable further training. Evidence shows that a high proportion are skilled or have a higher degree[31] but do not meet the professional requirements. It may take a refugee many years to regain a recognised professional qualification and employment.

3. Gender Aspects of Migration

Most of the research on gender aspects of international migration assume and focus on unskilled labour in domestic service, which is the largest employer, other services and manufacturing[32]. This does not mean that the women themselves are unskilled. A number of studies have highlighted the degree to which they have experienced deskilling[33]. However, there is an increasing and significant presence of female skilled migration, primarily in welfare sectors where the UK has some severe shortages. Studies of skilled international migration have primarily examined transnational corporations and producer services, domains that are largely male dominated[34]. The VSO study (March 2001) confirmed the glass ceiling women faced in overseas assignments. IT, one of the key shortage areas in recent years, seems to be predominantly male, although we know little of its gender composition and patterns of movement.

25 Leger,J-F. (1997) Les entrées annuelles d'étrangers sur le marché de l'emploi français, *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 13(2), 7-24

26 Condon, S. (2000). L'activité des femmes immigrées du Portugal à l'arrivée en France, reflet d'une diversité des stratégies familiale et individuelle, *Population* 55 (2), 301-30.

27 Tribalat, M. (1995) *Faire France. Une enquête sur les immigrés et leurs enfants*, Paris: La Découverte.

28 Raghuram, P. (2000) Gendering skilled migratory streams: implications for conceptualisations of migration, *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal* 9(4), 429-57

29 Hardill, I. and McDonald, S. (1998) Home and Away: an examination of the impact of expatriate work on dual career households, *Women's Studies International Forum* 2, 21-9.

30 Kofman, E., Phizacklea A., Raghuram, P. and Sales, R. (2000) *Gender and International Migration in Europe,* Routledge.

31 Carey-Wood, et al. (1995) *The Settlement of Refugees in Britain*, London: HMSO

32 Phizacklea, A.(ed) (1983) *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour,* :London: Routledge Kegan Paul; Anderson, B. and Phizacklea A. (1997) *Migrant Domestic Workers: A European Perspective,* Brussels: European Commission, Equal Opportunities Unit.

33 Escriva, A. (1997) Control, composition and character of ew migration to south-west Europe: the case of Peruvian women in Barcelona, *New Community* 27(1), 43-58; Friese, M. (1995) East European women as domestics in Western Europe – new social inequality and division of labour among women, *Journal of Area Studies* 6, 194-202.

34 Kofman, E. (2000) The invisibility of skilled female migrants and gender relations in studies of skilled migration in Europe, *International Journal of Population Geography* 6(1), 1-15.

In recent years however women are migrating for higher education and massively entering certain sectors. Many flows of foreign students in Europe, especially intra-European, are over 50% female. Women are also migrating independently. For the first time in 1999, the General Medical Council received more female applications from European doctors registering. Unpublished Australian data demonstrates his clearly. While in 1982-3, 22% of migrant doctors were female, in 1998-9, 44%. Amongst dentists the climb was even steeper – 2% in 1982-3 but 54% in 1998-9.

Future Research Directions

1. Open up migration studies to incorporate new approaches and broaden our understanding of reasons for migration and under what conditions moves are made as well as take into account the social reality of women's and men's lives.

2. Undertake more studies on family migration stripped of its current unwarranted assumptions. What do the 35-40% of male dependants do?

3. Recognise that many asylum seekers and refugees have skills and undertake an audit to find out exactly what their aspirations and skills are

Conclusion

The contribution of migrants to the labour force needs to move away from the equation of labour migration with labour force participation. It is clear that family migration, encompassing a variety of forms, and refugees enter and contribute to the labour force. In order to understand their participation in the labour force we also have to take into account the wider social structures and changing social and gender relations in which migrants are embedded. This will mean a shift away from the reductive logic and methodological individualism of existing migration studies.

Workshop 4: Refugee and Migrant Integration

Participants

Roger Ballard (Manchester)
Jill Barelli (ICU)
Alice Bloch (Goldsmiths)
Simon Brown (IRSS)
Dipali Chandra (BCT)
Lesley Duff (IRSS)
Hildegard Dumper (consultant)
Andrea Eagle (IRSS)
Semra Eren-Nijhar (Oxford)
Alison Fenney
David Hudson (RC)
David Ingleby (ERCOMER)
Daniele Joly (Warwick)
Maja Korac (Oxford)
Mina McElwain (Welsh RC)
Jennifer Monahan (consultant)
Toyin Okitikpi (Brunel)
Bernhard Perchinig (ECSWPR)
Sean Perkins (IRSS)
Deborah Platts (IRSS)
Keri Roberts (York)
Vaughan Robinson (Swansea)
Rosemary Sales (Middlesex)
Sarah Spencer (IPPR)
John Solomos (Southbank)
Kirsteen Tait (ICAR)
Steven Vertovec (Oxford)
Stephen Wheatley-Price (Leics)
Paul White (Sheffield)
Wondimu Yohannes (RA)
Aslan Zorlu (Amsterdam)

IRSS Presentation

Background statistics

Definitions:

- Refugees – asylum seekers who have received refugee status or exceptional leave to remain in the UK
- Other migrants – migrants, other than asylum seekers, who are granted settlement in the UK

There were 110,065 asylum decisions in 2000. For cases considered under the normal procedures:

- 10% were granted refugee status
- 12% were granted exceptional leave to remain

Only a proportion of applicants appeal, and there were 19,395 appeal decisions in 2000. 17% of these were allowed

There are two main categories of migrant (excluding refugees):

- spouses, children and other dependants of persons born or already settled in the UK
- work permit holders and other workers, and their spouses and dependants

Acceptances for settlement:

- 58,500 in 1999
  (38,700 in 1999, excluding asylum related cases)
- 57,200 in 1998
- 46,900 in 1997
- 52,300 in 1996

The research programme

Although there is currently no systematic integration programme for other migrants, we are interested in the integration of all migrants for a number of reasons:

- The integration of migrants can help achieve the 'economic growth' and 'social stability' aspects of Home Office Aim 6. Better integration policies can increase the economic and social contribution of existing and new migrants.
- Home Office policies on entry controls have a wide range of impacts on the economy and society. The positive effects of these policies can be enhanced (and any costs alleviated) through better integration strategies across the board.
- There is a whole range of possible integration strategies and interventions, so there is a direct requirement for us to know what the costs and benefits are in each case.
- Migration is a cross-departmental issue, and mechanisms need to be developed in order to ensure effective sharing of research-based evidence and information about 'what works'.

The RDS Home Office research study *Migration: an economic and social analysis* has made a significant contribution towards understanding the overall economic and social outcomes of migration policy in the UK. The report illustrated that, whilst virtually all areas of Government domestic, economic and social policy affect migrants, there are some which do so more explicitly. These include policies controlling access to employment, housing, health, education and benefits; family reunion and citizenship. Other policies will affect migrants along with other elements of the population, such as those on social exclusion and equality. Building on this initial piece of work, an extensive cross-departmental research work programme on the economic and social effects of migration is getting under way. And research on the integration of migrants is one aspect of this programme. So, at present, Home Office policy on the integration of refugees is currently more developed than that for other migrants.

To facilitate the implementation of the refugee integration strategy, and to ensure that new policies are based on evidence, the Home Office established a research team to conduct research on immigration and integration. The team comprises ourselves in IRSS, working in partnership with those in the Economic and Resource Analysis Unit (ERA), and also the Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.

Whilst a considerable amount is known about how to integrate refugees and other migrants, further research is required to identify which interventions and strategies are effective in the UK context and acceptable to people who migrate here. In addition, we need to understand the social impact of integrating refugees and migrants on host communities and on services and infrastructure. The IRSS/ERA team has, therefore, planned a research programme to increase our knowledge about integration, to identify and evaluate strategies that are effective and appropriate for use in the UK, and to disseminate that knowledge to policy makers and service providers. One of the first tasks has been to commission work on mapping research on refugee and migrant integration.

The Refugee Integration Strategy

Main aims:

- To include all refugees as equal members of society
- To develop the potential of refugees
- To develop a clear framework for refugee integration across the UK
- To facilitate access to support

(Home Office, Nov. 2000)

Additional resources:

There are three new streams of funding for the strategy:

- £650,000 for capacity building
- £500,000 Challenge Fund for refugee integration projects in each of next three years
- £350,000 Refugee Community Development Fund to kickstart regional initiatives

plus the European Refugee Fund.

The National Refugee Integration Forum:

- Sub-groups monitor the implementation of individual elements of the strategy.
- Integration Research Working Group is key to implementing the research strategy.

The IRSS/NASS Research and Statistics Team

Main aims of research:

- To support effective implementation of the refugee integration strategy
- To provide evidence base for the work of the refugee integration forum and subgroups

The research aims are achieved by:

- critically mapping integration research
- auditing community initiatives
- reviewing services in regions
- critically appraising existing research
- feasibility of systematic review of integration literature
- systematic reviews to identify cost-effective strategies
- feasibility of longitudinal database

Other projects

- Developing a framework for the evaluation of integration projects.
- Evaluating the Challenge Fund and European Refugee Fund.
- Examining the economic and social impact of integrating refugees and other migrants.

Workshop papers and presentations

Maja Korac, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford

My presentation will focus on the importance of exploring refugee experiences of integration. I want to argue that inclusion of refugee voices into policy considerations is important for formulating successful policies pertaining to refugee settlement programmes. Within this framework, I will talk about:

- some conceptual considerations concerning integration
- methodological issues involved in this type of research about integration of refugees.

In addressing these issues, I will reflect upon some preliminary findings of my research about experiences of integration of refugees from former Yugoslavia in Italy and the Netherlands. This comparative study is defined as a critique of a 'top-down' approach to integration and the two countries have been chosen for consideration because of their different migration histories as well as their different policy contexts. It was considered that an exploration of the experiences of integration of a population of refugees from a single country of origin will provide an insight into the ways in which different policy contexts and broader country contexts influence the way in which refugees develop their strategies for integration. The study is underway and is due to be completed in December this year.

As regards concepts of integration, I agree with authors who challenge exclusionary and inclusionary mechanisms of the nation-state (R. Miles, for example), with those who argue that the concept of integration is implicitly prescriptive, in the sense that the refugees and other migrants are required to integrate in and to 'belong' to the receiving society in the culturally prescribed manner. In other words, I argue that integration should not only be defined and should not only exist on terms of governments and policy makers. I understand the concept of integration as a dialogical process, which implies two-way communication and mutual adjustment of newcomers as well as of the established community of the receiving society. The suggested meaning of the concept of integration is becoming increasingly important in a world in which transnational mobility is continuously growing, creating a situation that throws into question previous political, cultural and ethnic boundaries. The integration of newcomers, and refugees in particular, has become central to maintaining standards of democracy in the receiving societies.

The suggested meaning of integration implies that the refugees are understood to be agents, who have a range of skills and choices, although restricted, in finding ways of becoming members of the receiving society. Exploration of their experiences of integration can indicate how refugees themselves define a 'successful integration' and how they conceptualise membership in the receiving society. Such an exploration can shed more light on issues concerning participation, citizenship, feelings of belonging and 'home' as well as other issues relating to 'frontiers of identity', to borrow the term from R. Cohen. My research indicates, for example, that for many refugees fleeing wars involving break-up of their country of origin, citizenship means to be 'accepted by a state' and is seen as a purely practical matter but not as a possibility to become more ingrained in the receiving society. Exploration of the experience of refugees in my research concerning their notions of belonging shows that refugees often conceptualise belonging in transnational terms as well as in relation to locality, Rome for example, and do not 'dream' about return to their 'homeland'. This attitude towards the question or myth of return is particularly manifest in accounts of relatively well-educated and younger refugees. As regards other identity issues, my research reveals a clear desire among refugees to retain a notion of being different but this does not imply their refusal to integrate. Rather, this notion of being different was considered as an advantage both for the newcomers and for the established community. The

process of negotiation of boundaries and identity was understood as a mutual process of learning and shifting within which both communities can gain. These and other notions and concepts developed and defined by refugees themselves are useful for some of the current scholarly debates about citizenship and politics of belonging as well as for policy makers and practitioners involved in refugee work.

Integration understood as a dialogical process also implies that it equally refers to what can be termed functional integration via the labour market and education as well as to aspects of wider social integration of refugees in the receiving society. Functional integration is indeed central to refugee self-sufficiency and wellbeing in the receiving society. My research indicates, however, that the level of satisfaction of refugees with their situation in exile is importantly related to the scope and quality of social contacts established with the wider social community (i.e. established community of the receiving society).

In Italy, for example, refugees for the most part do not encounter any kind of reception system and assistance provided by the government and NGO sector. Moreover, refugees from former Yugoslavia in Italy could not rely on support and assistance from so-called 'old' migrant networks because there are none. Additionally, the legal status of the overwhelming majority of these refugees is temporary, renewable on a yearly basis. Left to their own devices, they spontaneously developed their own network and organised a 'self-reception' system, which helped them to find their way into Italian society. They succeeded in becoming self-sufficient and independent in a very short time. This, however, meant that they have low paying jobs that in a majority of the cases did not match their education and professional/work experience before the flight. Hence, they were not satisfied with the quality of their functional integration. Nevertheless, they expressed satisfaction with being in Italy and thought that they would not have felt better about their lives if they had been in some other EU state or in North America. This attitude was shared equally by those who succeeded in finding better employment and/or in having their diplomas recognised as well as by those who after five or six years in Italy still worked as manual workers.

The satisfaction expressed by the refugees in this research was importantly related to a perceived and felt openness of Italians to social communication. The scope of social contacts made with the established community contributed to a subjective feeling that the wider society is manageable and not beyond reach. The refugees in my research defined the losses involved in their flight and exile in terms of losses of economic welfare or uncertain prospects for their future but not as much in terms of loss of personal agency and in terms of acute feelings of exclusion.

The mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion in the receiving society operate on two levels. On the level of day-to-day social contacts with members of the established community, on the one hand, and on the level of state institutions and the wider public, on the other. Experience within these two contexts influences the ways in which boundaries between us (refugees) and them (established community) are constructed and within which the notions of difference are created. Research that could help us map the processes I have mentioned so far can have an important role in informing scholarly debates as well as in shaping policies.

Explorations of the refugee experiences of integration and importance of hearing and including refugee voices in scholarly and policy considerations give rise to many methodological questions. I will mention here only those relating to the use of qualitative methods. Qualitative research methods are the most appropriate for this type of research. In-depth interviewing is particularly suitable because it permits fuller expression of refugee experiences in their own terms. But research based on qualitative methods cannot produce ambitious generalisations. Rather, it can provide insights about the complexity of the process of integration based on a more intimate knowledge of a small 'slice' of reality.

For these reasons, the principal concern of this type of research in selecting interviewees is to ensure they cover a variety of refugee profiles. Consequently, variables such as: age, gender, ethnicity, marital status, parental status, education, region and place of residence before the flight (i.e. the country of origin, and urban or rural), as well as time and circumstances of the flight, are important in selecting interviewees. The identification and selection of the group of interviewees, however, should not be based on an ad hoc snowball sampling technique through informal contact with individual refugees and representatives of refugee communities. This type of research requires a 'strategy' of selection of interviews that to a certain extent resembles a 'theoretical sampling' as described by Armstrong (1987), where the primary concern is not representativeness, but rather identifying theoretically relevant dimensions of similarity and contrast.

With all these methodological limitations in mind, I argue that both in research and policy refugees have to be treated as subjects and agents and not as data-gathering objects or passive recipients of aid and social services who have to adapt to the culturally prescribed manner.

Paul White, University of Sheffield

Refugee and Immigrant Integration

My objective in this presentation is to extend some of Dr Korac's observations on asylum seekers and integration issues in the Netherlands and Italy into a wider realm to include migrants. I want to try to provoke discussion later in the workshop by highlighting a number of what can be seen as crucial questions:

- What is integration?
- Why is it an issue?
- Whose interests does it serve?
- In what circumstances might it take place?

Maja Korac touched on some of these questions – particularly some of the definitional issues and the debates around the factors that control the extent of integration. Although this presentation is informed by a reading of the literature and by research findings from my own group , as well as my own current research on the Japanese in London and Düsseldorf, I want to keep this as a conceptual presentation rather than providing detailed empirical findings.

What is integration?

'Integration' is a simple word that is used in a very wide variety of contexts and given an extremely varied set of detailed meanings. Because of the levels of ambiguity that can exist when different people use the word to suggest different phenomena, it has become a very slippery term. In discussions of migration and ethnicity, the word can be put alongside a variety of other related and often-used terms that are equally used to describe levels and types of interaction between a migrant group and others in the wider society of the place

35 This version of the paper, produced after the conference, incorporates certain points made in the discussion. The author is grateful to all those who joined in a lively debate on the day.

36 Kate Day on Bosnians and Somalis in Britain, Keri Roberts on Vietnamese in Britain, Ibrahim Sirkeci on Turkish Kurds in Germany, Joanne Stansfield on Eritreans in Britain, Aglaia Barraclough on Greeks and Cypriots in Britain, Deianira Ganga on Italians in Britain, Kay Graham on elderly Italians in France, Daniel Gutting on Turks in Germany, Leonie Kapadia on young Pakistanis in Britain, Shahida Khan on elderly Pakistani women in Britain, and Sam Scott on the British in France.

37 Entzinger, H. (1994) Y-a-t'il un avenir pour le modèle néerlandais des "minorités ethniques"?, *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales,* Vol 10, pp. 73-94; Castles, S. (1995) How nation-states respond to immigration and ethnic diversity, New Community, Vol 21, pp. 293-308. See also White, P. (1999) Ethnicity, racialization and citizenship as divisive elements in Europe, In Divided Europe: Society and Territory, ed. R. Hudson and A.M. Williams, pp. 210-230, London: Sage.

of destination. We can go on to suggest a typology of such types of interaction, in which 'integration' is one scenario amongst others. Here I am building on ideas put forward in the mid 1990s by Han Entzinger and Stephen Castles, with some recognition of further thinking, particularly in Canada.

Figure 1 provides a schematic version of such a typology, dealing only with distinctions between a migrant group (whether refugees or immigrants) and 'host society'. A variety of alternative scenarios are developed.

1. Assimilation

In this concept the migrant group is expected to give up its identity, to lose its distinctiveness and to become indistinguishable from host society.

2. Pluralism

Here there is no real contact between the migrant and host versions of society: they operate separately within a given space. However, it can be suggested, both from social theory and from experience, that where pluralism is operative the two social variants are extremely unlikely to be regarded as equal. Host society will maintain the upper hand and retain a position of social control and of sanction over the activities of the migrant group, despite the apparent functional separation between them.

3. Multiculturalism

This concept envisages freedom of existence and of operation for different groups, but without the separation between them that occurs under pluralism. There may be rhetoric about the 'equal legitimacy' of different groups in society (including migrants from varied origins) but with the expectation of interactions between them. There may also be the possible emergence of a new variant of social structure through the mixing of characteristics of different groups: such mixing might be labelled as 'hybridisation'.

4. Integration

Here there is contact established between migrants and host society and with the absorption of the migrant group into certain aspects of host society activities. However, there is no view here that assimilation is the inevitable outcome, such that the maintenance of difference is part of the scenario.

Figure 1: A typology of 'integration' scenarios

ASSIMILATION = the elimination of distinctiveness

Migrant Group ↘

↘

Host Society >

PLURALISM = the continuation of separation (without equal legitimacy?)

Migrant Group >

Host Society >

MULTICULTURALISM = freedom to exist for different groups with possible blending of groups: no one group 'privileged'

Migrant Group >

↘ ↗

>

↗ ↘

Host Society >

INTEGRATION = the acceptance of a group into pre-existing structures, but with the possible retention of distinctiveness

Migrant Group >

↘

Host Society >

In presenting the four scenarios in Figure 1 we should be aware that in many cases the distinctions between them are not necessarily clear cut: that they are contested in many ways; and that elements of two or more scenarios may commonly exist together.

In as much as the alternative scenarios in Figure 1 are real, they tend to reflect wider political and social discourses carried out at a fairly large scale. Thus assimilationist views in the terms of Figure 1 have until recently dominated within French political discourses, while the official face of Canadian political thinking has been set towards multiculturalism. In Britain there has been a less clear-cut and consistent vision – with elements of pluralism and integrationism often coexisting. In addition, we might note that these discourses may also operate at scales other than the national – local authority policies towards refugee or immigrant groups within their own jurisdictions may be framed in ways which do not replicate discourses at broader scales. A related issue occurs in the fact that the scenarios schematised in Figure 1 can also operate at a number of levels – individual or group, formal or informal.

Finally, it should be noted that integration as defined above is very often selective. Contact and participation may be achieved to involve migrants in host society in certain respects but not in others. Germany during the great years of the post-war economic boom provides a clear example of a system whereby *gastarbeiter* ('guestworkers') were integrated in the economic sphere whilst being denied integration in other spheres such as the social, the cultural or the political.

Why is integration an issue?

To ask why integration should be problematised may seem to be asking for an obvious answer – that it is a 'good thing'. However, it is salutary to consider certain recent debates in Britain and elsewhere that tend to demonstrate that there is sometimes a tendency to see the lack of integration of certain groups as 'problematic' whilst accepting a similar lack of integration for others as not needing action. Opposition to the establishment of separate schools for certain migrant groups in Britain (for example for Islamic girls) has not been mirrored by negative comments about the creation of separate schooling for children from the French, American, German or Japanese communities. Whilst it might be countered that these latter groups are transitory residents in Britain, that 'fact' is open to challenge with increasing evidence of extended stays here – for example by the Japanese.

The suggestion I am putting forward here is that integration is seen as an important issue in part because it reflects a certain fear and mistrust of difference and an inability on the part of society to countenance some of the implications of fragmentation and the loss of apparent unity. Such a view obviously leads into the third question to be posed here.

Whose interests are served by integration?

What is integration for? From what has been said earlier in this presentation, I am suggesting that integration fits a particular view of what society should be like. Alternative views of society give rise to discussion of assimilation or multiculturalism as the established view. Any policy that is aimed at facilitating integration is a policy of social engineering, with particular aims that should be fully articulated (although in practice they are often not).

If such an aim is present, then the reasons behind it are often broad in nature but can be reduced to a limited list along the following lines:

- To reduce social exclusion;
- To increase social cohesion;
- To facilitate economic growth;
- To increase equality of opportunity (for example in economic, political, or educational terms);
- To improve the conditions for participative citizenship;
- To implement principles of natural justice.

However, it should be noted that there are various forces whose interests are not served by an emphasis on integration as a vision of society and as an aim for policy. And those who oppose integration consist of more than the racist elements who oppose all immigration. Let us briefly consider an old concept here – that of the so-called 'myth of return': the idea that migrants will return to their original country after a period away.

Such a view can be argued to serve an anti-integration view:

- It enables the 'host' society to do nothing about migrant groups. The argument is that they will go home in the longer term, therefore there is no need to seek to integrate them into wider aspects of society. They should be provided with the bare minimum of support to provide a 'safety net' if particular difficulties occur, but there is no need for special measures to seek to enhance their participation in wider society;

- It reinforces the interests of conservative forces in migrant society to say 'we're going to go home: don't go over to the other side: don't give up our distinctiveness or we won't fit in back at home'. There is here a fear that integration as defined earlier might lead to assimilation and the elimination of difference.

So integration is not necessarily a policy that is equally desired by all. There may be opponents to it from both the host society and the migrant group perspective. This leads us to the fourth and final question.

What factors control the occurrence of integration?

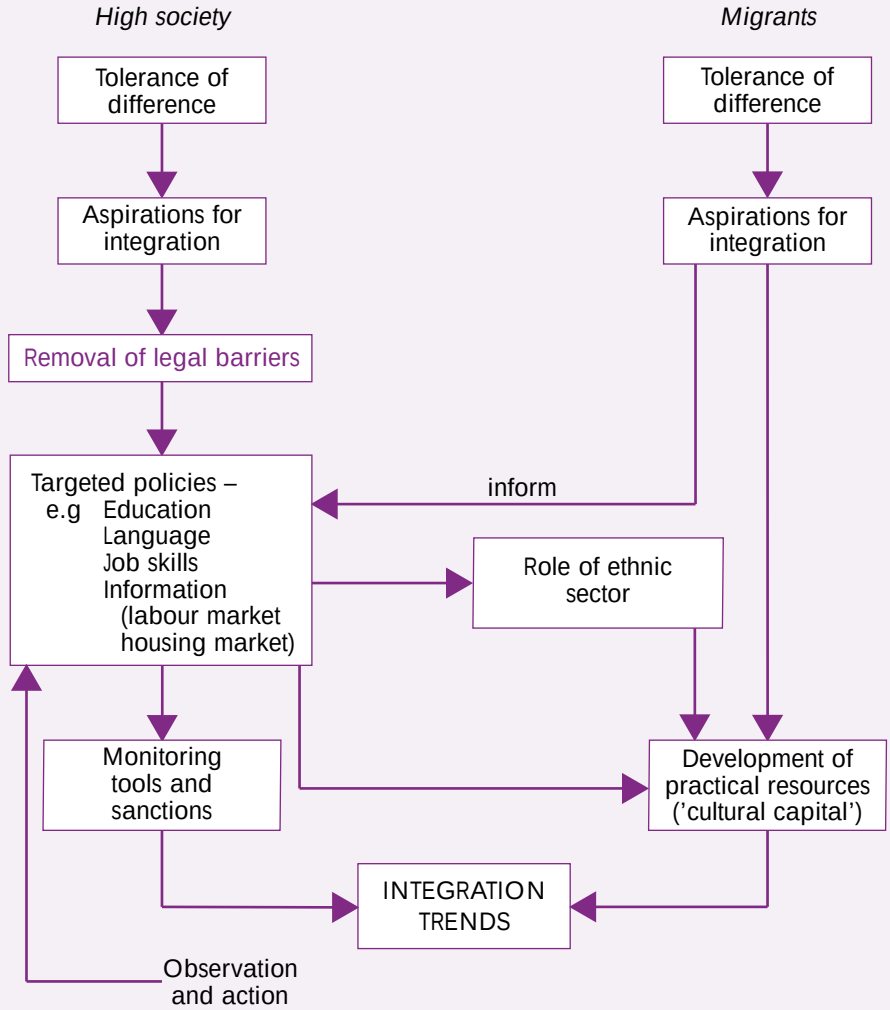
My approach to answering this final question is to construct a conceptual model and then to highlight certain aspects of it. The module (Figure 2) is designed as a contribution to debate, and attempts to be broadly applicable to all integration issues (for example relating to both refugee and immigrant argument is that they will go home in the longer term, therefore there is no need to seek to integrate them into wider aspects of society. They should be provided with the bare minimum of support to provide a 'safety net' if particular difficulties occur, but there is no need for special measures to seek to enhance their participation in wider society.

A first pre-condition for the development of integration processes is tolerance of difference on the part of all those involved. As indicated in Figure 1, integration is not assimilation: differences between people are likely to remain, such that a willingness to countenance this outcome is necessary at the outset.

A second pre-condition is that integration must be seen as a desirable aim by all concerned. Evidence from empirical work suggests that this desire is often not present: integration may not be a shared goal. If one 'side' doesn't want integration then it is unlikely to happen. We must, however, note that in this respect in particular attitudes can change through time. Changed goals amongst a second or subsequent generation have often been identified.

A third pre-condition is the removal of all legal barriers to integration and to the implementation of policies that might be aimed at this outcome. The removal of such barriers is a requirement on host societies. An obvious example of the significance of such barriers within integration processes relates to the lack of possibility of the implementation of integration measures for those who arrive as asylum seekers until they have been granted refugee or ELR status.

Figure 2: The conditions for integration



The fourth stage in the model occurs where the aspirations of the migrant group for integration are used to inform the creation of policies that can be 'targeted' specifically to their needs. Such policies may deal with some of the more 'obvious' elements of linguistic competence, education and training, but there may also be a considerable need to enhance migrants' (and particularly refugees') information sources about how to interact independently with key elements of wider society, such as the labour or housing markets. The aim of policies can be conceptualised as being to enhance the ability of migrants and refugees to operate in wider society. I have here labelled this as having the 'practical resources' to draw on in everyday activities which bring contact in economic, educational, social, cultural, political spheres and so on. There is a relationship here to the concept of 'cultural capital' as developed by Pierre Bourdieu (and to other concepts of social capital). Cultural capital relates to a knowledge of the rules and norms of behaviour at particular levels of society: here the concept can be extended to encompass a knowledge of the ways to operate in a society other than one's own. Migrants can scarcely become integrated into their host countries if they lack the resources of understanding and knowledge to function outside their own community. The objectives of policy must be to enhance their capabilities to do so.

The role of the 'ethnic sector' may be of considerable interest here. A first set of arguments may say that removing migrants' (or refugees') dependence on the community of which they initially feel part can speed up the integration process by 'forcing' migrants to interact more quickly with the rest of society and thereby enhancing their practical resource base. There is a paradox in this argument. On the one hand, the enhancement of practical resources is about the development of migrants' abilities to act as independent agents (and in the case of refugees, to restore to them a sense of agency in circumstances where they may have lost control of their own lives). Yet on the other hand, the removal, by policy, of migrants from a supportive ethnic community acts to reduce the operation of independent agency for them. Empirical findings suggest that separating migrants from their ethnic community is likely to enhance social exclusion, which in turn is likely to reduce the likelihood of integration. On the other hand, integration policies operating via an ethnic community can utilise both the wider social capital of networks and community-wide social structures to enhance confidence-building in new migrant arrivals, but can also provide community support and aid with the targeting of policies. The obverse side of the argument is that strengthening of an ethnic community may reduce its willingness to see integration as a goal, thus reversing one of the pre-conditions for integration identified at the start of the model. Clearly this is an area where further research is needed.

The final stage in the model indicates that it is only through migrants' development of practical resources that integration can take place. However, a further set of actions is required on the part of host society in the form of measures to monitor the development of integration and, where problems and blockages appear to be occurring, mechanisms to bring sanctions to bear (for example in defence of individual rights). Such monitoring activities should also be closely linked to further policy discussions such that further political action can be taken as necessary to facilitate the future operation of the integration process.

Annexes

Annex 1 Conference Programme

09:00	Arrival and registration Tea/Coffee
09:30	Welcome and introduction Stephen Boys-Smith, Director General, IND Barbara Roche MP, Minister of State, Home Office Overview of conference aims and objectives by Research, Development and Statistics/Immigration Research and Statistics Service (IRSS) including present and future research plans Peter Ward, Head, Immigration Research and Statistics Service David Moxon, Research Development and Statistics Directorate Keynote Papers I and II: Working with NGOs and International Organisations Chaired by Anne Owers, JUSTICE Jeff Crisp, Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR, Geneva Nick Hardwick, Refugee Council
11:10	Tea/Coffee
11:30	Themed information-sharing and discussion workshops to include short presentations of current research interests by Home Office researchers: Workshop 1: European Asylum and Immigration Policy Roger Zetter, Oxford Brookes University (Facilitator) Beverley Morgan, Immigration Research and Statistics Service Daniel Howard, Immigration Research and Statistics Service Martin Wood, Immigration Research and Statistics Service Workshop 2: Asylum and Appeals in the UK Lynda Joeman, Immigration Research and Statistics Service (Facilitator) Heaven Crawley, Immigration Research and Statistics Service Tina Heath, Immigration Research and Statistics Service Barry Bardwell-Snow, Immigration Research and Statistics Service Workshop 3: International Labour Migration Carole Willis, Economics and Resource Analysis Unit (Facilitator) Keith Jackson, Immigration Research and Statistics Service Verity Gelsthorpe, Immigration Research and Statistics Service Ceri Gott, Economics and Resource Analysis Unit

Workshop 4: Refugee and Migrant Integration
Lesley Duff, Immigration Research and Statistics Service (Facilitator)
Carolyne Tah, Immigration Research and Statistics Service
Sean Perkins, Immigration Research and Statistics Service
Andrea Eagle, Immigration Research and Statistics Service

12:30 Keynote Papers III and IV: Immigration Research and Statistics Service (IRSS) Commissioned Research and the Academic Contribution to the Policy Process
Chaired by Richard Black, University of Sussex
Roger Zetter, Oxford Brookes University
Khalid Koser, University College London

13:15 Lunch

14:15 Continuation of themed discussion workshops:

Workshop 1: European Asylum and Immigration Policy
Lisa Schuster, London School of Economics (Facilitator)
Steve Peers, University of Essex
Nuale Mole and Nicola Rogers, AIRE Centre

Workshop 2: Asylum and Appeals in the UK
Matthew Gibney, Refugee Studies Centre (Facilitator)
Vaughan Robinson, University of Wales
Dallal Stevens, University of Warwick
Hugo Storey, Immigration Appeal Tribunal

Workshop 3: International Labour Migration
Bridget Anderson, University of Warwick (Facilitator)
Eleonore Kofman, Nottingham Trent University
John Salt, University College London

Workshop 4: Refugee and Migrant Integration
Alice Bloch, Goldsmiths College (Facilitator)
Maja Korac, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford
Paul White, University of Sheffield

15:45 Tea/Coffee

16:00 Keynote Papers V and VI: Research Networks and the Relationship with Policy Makers
Chaired by Elizabeth Ruddick, Citizenship and Immigration Canada
Steve Vertovec, Transnational Communities Programme
Meyer Burstein and Howard Duncan, Metropolis Project, Canada

16:45 Closing session and plenary discussion
Sarah Spencer, Director, Citizenship and Governance Programme Institute for Public Policy Research

17:30 Finish

Annex 2 Home Office Aim 6 Research and Statistics Work

The purpose of Home Office Aim 6 is the 'regulation of entry to, and settlement in, the UK in the interests of social stability and economic growth; the facilitation of travel by UK citizens; the support of destitute asylum seekers during consideration of their claims; and the integration of those accepted as refugees'.[38]

The Immigration Research and Statistics Service (IRSS) conducts work in these areas:

1. Work on the evaluation of the changes arising from the White Paper and Immigration & Asylum Act 1999, with the emphasis on contributing to policy development and/or operational effectiveness

Research and evaluation projects are being developed for a variety of policy partners within the Home Office Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND), and also for the Joint Entry Clearance Unit (JECU).

2. Work to develop, monitor and evaluate enforcement policy

A number of projects are currently being developed in support of IND's enforcement work. These include an evaluation of the Voluntary Assisted Returns Programme being run with IOM and Refugee Action, and research conducted internally by IRSS into the role of detention in the removals process.

3. Research, evaluation and statistics of asylum support and refugee integration

IRSS established a new team in August 2000 to support the National Asylum Support Service (NASS). The programme of work so far includes:

- *Evaluation and improvement of NASS*
  An interim evaluation of NASS was completed in October 2000, and the findings were translated into an action plan currently being implemented by NASS. Further work includes an evaluation of the NASS support system; action research on dispersal; and a review of asylum seekers' access to services.

- *Best practice in integrating refugees*
  Mapping the current issues in integration research
  Steve Vertovec and his team from the ESRC Research Programme on Transnational Communities and the Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford, have been commissioned to map research on integration. The study aims to define key interventions for the integration of a) refugees and b) other migrants, to outline integration theories and to describe commonly used methods of investigation. In addition, the study will identify gaps in the evidence available to

38 Home Office Aim 6 has been revised: "To regulate entry to and settlement in the United Kingdom effectively in the interests of sustainable growth and social inclusion. To provide an efficient and effective work permit system to meet economic and skills requirements, and fair, fast and effective programmes for dealing with visitors, citizenship and long term immigration applications and those seeking refuge and asylum. To facilitate travel by UK citizens."

underpin new policies in integration of these two groups. We plan to follow this study with systematic reviews of the effectiveness of key interventions to integrate refugees.

Other work involves developing the integration and economic effects of migration agenda and an evaluation of the European refugee fund.

4. Characteristics and behaviour of asylum seekers and development of asylum policy

- *Asylum seekers survey*

  Subject to the outcome of feasibility work being conducted by BMRB International, we plan to commission a representative survey to generate information about the motivations, characteristics and experiences of asylum applicants. This will address key information requirements on, for example, travel routes, reasons for applying for asylum in the UK rather than other countries, and the socio-demographic characteristics of applicants. The survey will help inform the development and evaluation of a range of policy and operational measures.

- *Understanding the decision-making of asylum seekers*

  This research is being undertaken by Dr Vaughan Robinson of the University of Wales Swansea. The project seeks to explore the images asylum seekers had of the UK before arrival, and how these had been formed. It further aims to investigate why asylum seekers opt for one destination country as opposed to another, using the UK as a case study. The analysis of the information collected on 60 in-depth interviews with asylum seekers is underway.

- *Research on the impact of asylum policies and practice on asylum applications in the EU*

  The work for this project is being undertaken by Professor Roger Zetter and a team of researchers based at Oxford Brookes University. The research will provide chronological information on changes in asylum policy across EU states; review the available evidence about the impact of such changes; conduct a comparative analysis; and identify the requirements for additional research.

- *The social networks of asylum seekers and the dissemination of information to the country of origin*

  Dr Khalid Koser of University College London is conducting the research in this area. The project was formulated in response to the demand from policy makers for increased knowledge about the extent to which information about changes in asylum policy and practice is exchanged between the United Kingdom and refugee producing countries, and the mechanisms through which this process takes place.

- *Research review 'Asylum Policy and Process in the United Kingdom: Mapping the Field*'

  The contractor for this project is the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick. This project will provide an overview of the existing and planned research undertaken in this area.

- *Content and user evaluation of country information within asylum determination and appeals process*

  This work is being undertaken internally by IRSS, and will investigate what country information is needed at different stages of the asylum and appeals process and assess whether the information currently provided meets the needs of users.

5. Measuring the size and describing the characteristics of the illegal population

This is intended to provide information on the numbers, characteristics and motivations of the illegally resident population. The research is needed to inform the development, implementation and evaluation of policies designed to tackle aspects of illegal entry and illegal residency. It will also feed into work on the economic and social impacts of immigration and help to inform debate over the strategic direction of immigration policy. A workshop has been held with research organisations to help determine appropriate methods and a viable programme of research; external projects are likely to be commissioned.

6. The economic and social impact of migration

This area of work involves collaboration with the Economics and Resource Analysis Unit of RDS, Home Office and other government departments. A research plan has been prepared following the Home Office study, prepared with assistance from the Performance and Innovation Unit at the Cabinet Office and the Institute for Public Policy Research, 'Migration: an economic and social analysis', published in January 2001. This report identified a number of key information gaps which will be addressed in future research work at a cross-departmental level. In particular, we are planning to conduct more analysis into:

- the labour market impacts of migration in the UK, including any redistributional implications
- international experiences of different types of migration and policy approaches including the integration of migrants into society
- the impact on local communities
- the social contribution made by migrants
- the implications of migration for source countries.

This work will also draw on and feed into research being undertaken in other parts of this Aim 6 programme in order to assist with future policy development.

7. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act imposes new legal obligations on public authorities, including IND. The Act is due to come into force in April, and IRSS is assisting IND with research and statistical support.

8. Statistics

- Provision, analysis and development of statistics on entry clearance abroad, port arrivals, asylum, extensions of stay, settlement, enforcement action, detention, appeals and British citizenship; including provision of data to ONS for their statistics on international migration
- Monitoring of performance targets for immigration and asylum work
- Development of methods to monitor the timeliness of asylum decisions
- Development of National Asylum Support Service (NASS) Statistics
- Analysis of the characteristics of asylum seekers applying for NASS support
- Modelling supply of accommodation and the demand for accommodation from asylum seekers within NASS
- Modelling the costs of asylum support, including costs born by DSS and local authorities
- Forecasting of passenger arrivals, asylum applications and settlement
- Transition to new management information and statistical systems in line with the implementation of IND caseworking systems
- Participation in international development of definitions and analysis via the IGC Working Group*, CIREA and CIREFI.

More on research, statistics and publications can be found on the RDS website:
http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/index.htm

*Inter-Governmental Consultations on Asylum, Refugee and Migration Policies in Europe, North America and Australia – Data working group

Annex 3 List of Participants and Research Interests (where provided)

Besim Ajeti, International Organisation for Migration (IOM)

bajeti@iomlondon.org

Dr Bridget Anderson, University of Warwick

c/o ESRC Research Programme on Transnational Communities
University of Oxford
Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology
51 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 6PE
Tel: +44 (0) 1865 274719
Email: bridget.anderson@anthropology.ox.ac.uk

Research interests include migration and domestic work in private households (including provision of childcare, elder care and care of the disabled); the regularisation of formerly undocumented domestic workers, the process, the paths to "normalisation", effects on employment, and knock-on effects on households in their countries of origin; the au pair system, which fills a crucial gap in the labour market in the UK and throughout the European Union.

Udo Aron, Immigration and Naturalisation Service, Netherlands

Schedeldoekshaven 101
P.O Box 30125 2500 GC
The Hague, Z 318
Netherlands
Tel: +31 (0)703 709435
Email: uaron@ind.minjus.nl

Rachel Atkinson, Lord Chancellor's Department (LCD)

Selbourne House
54-60 Victoria Street
London SW1E 6QW
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7210 8830
Email: rachel.atkinson@lcdhq.gsi.gov.uk

Research needs: to help our understanding of effective communication of the asylum process; to structure the family visit visa appeal system appropriately.

Dr Roger Ballard, University of Manchester

Centre for Applied South Asian Studies

Department of Religions
University of Manchester
Manchester M13 9PL
Tel: +44 (0)161 303 1709
Email: R.Ballard@man.ac.uk
Web: www.art.man.ac.uk/casas

Research interests include the processes of emigration from northern India and Pakistan, and the trajectories of adaptation which South Asian settlers and their locally-born offspring have followed in the UK; the way in which the conventions of kinship, marriage and extended family organisation have conditioned the trajectories of socio-cultural adaptation which members of these communities have followed since their arrival in the UK; and the ways in which members of these communities have devised their own distinct survival strategies.

Jill Barelli, Immigration and Community Unit (ICU)

jill.barelli@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Ian Barton, National Asylum Support Service (NASS)

Refugee Integration Section
National Asylum Support Service (NASS)
5th Floor Voyager House
30-32 Wellesley Road
Croydon CR0 2AD
Tel: +44 (0)20 8633 0069
Fax: +44 (0)20 8633 0079
Email: ian.barton@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

The Refugee Integration section at NASS is responsible for taking forward the Refugee Integration Strategy to enable recognised refugees to settle successfully in the UK. We facilitate meetings of the newly established National Refugee Integration Forum, consisting of representatives from Government departments, local authorities and the voluntary sector, to steer and monitor the strategy. We are working closely with the regional consortia and the voluntary sector to develop regional refugee integration strategies, and are looking to work with professional bodies to develop protocols and guidelines to enhance the employment prospects of refugees.

Nathalia Berkowitz, Immigration Appellate Authority

Senior Legal & Research Officer
Immigration Appellate Authority
Taylor House
88 Rosebery Avenue
London EC1 4QU
Tel: +44 (0)20 7862 4358
Email: n.berkowitz@mcr1.poptel.org.uk

Research interests include the consideration of migration as a whole rather than split into compartments such as 'immigration', 'asylum', 'free movement' and 'human rights'; the use and abuse of country of origin information in the asylum status determination process; and the link between migration and globalisation and regional co-operation.

Keith Best, Immigration Advisory Servce (IAS)

Head Office
3rd Floor, County House
190 Great Dover Street
London
SE1 4YB
Email : Keith.Best@iasuk.org

Dr Peter Billings, University of the West of England

Human Rights Unit
Faculty of Law
University of the West of England
Bristol
Email: Peter.Billings@uwe.ac.uk

Research interests include the comparative asylum determination procedures and state practice in the light of dignitary values, and how the UK and other refugee-receiving states have introduced reforms aimed at deterring economic migrants and the impact those reforms have had on all asylum claimants.

Dr Richard Black, University of Sussex

Director, CDE
University of Sussex
Falmer
Brighton BN1 9SJ
Tel: +44 (0)1273 877090
Fax: +44 (0)1273 623572
Email: r.black@sussex.ac.uk
Web: http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/CDE

Research interests include policies towards refugee return and the development of 'transnational' strategies that have benefits (and costs) for individual refugees, and home and host countries.

Pam Bland, Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, Home Office

pam.bland@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Dr Alice Bloch, Goldsmiths College

Department of Social Policy and Politics
Goldsmiths College
University of London
New Cross
London SE14 6NW
Tel: +44 (0)20 7919 7907
Email: a.bloch@gold.ac.uk

Research interests include migration and the migratory process; social and economic settlement including the role of community organisations; asylum policy, and the link between welfare and immigration policy. Also currently beginning a research project that sets out to determine whether the training and employment support for forced migrants, who are eligible to work, is sufficient and appropriate.

Eric De Borst, Immigration and Naturalisation Service, Netherlands

eborst@ind.minjus.nl

Wolfgang Bosswick, European Forum for Migration Studies

European Forum for Migration Studies
Institut an der Otto Friedrich,
Universitat Banberg,
Katharinenstr 1
D96 052 Banberg

Meyer Burstein, The Metropolis Project, Canada

Email: Meyer.Burstein@9522apx.cina.cic.x400.gc.ca
Web: http://canada.metropolis.net/

Co-founder of the International Metropolis Project and currently serving as the Executive Head of the Metropolis Project Team within Canada's Department of Citizenship and Immigration (CIC), headquartered in Ottawa. The Metropolis Project Team develops the overall strategic directions for the Project, builds the organisational and communications infrastructure, promotes interest and provides co-ordination (for more information see below).

Sophia Ceneda, Refugee Women's Resource Project (RWRP)

Research and Information Officer
Refugee Women's Resource Project
Asylum Aid
28 Commercial Street
London E1 6LS
Email: rwrp2000@hotmail.com

Research interests include, in the near future, one or two of the following: 'The impact of dispersal on women asylum seekers'; 'Roma women asylum seekers'; 'the impact of carriers' liability on women asylum seekers';

'honour killings'; the treatment of women asylum seekers from Kenya; the issue of domestic violence in selected countries.

Dipali Chandra98, Barrow Cadbury Trust

Barrow Cadbury Trust
2 College Walk
Selly Oak,
Birmingham B29 6LQ
Email: d.chandra@bctrust.org.uk

Jeff Crisp, UNHCR

Head, Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit
UNHCR
Geneva
Email: crisp@unhcr.ch
Web: http://www.unhcr.ch/

Research interests include security in refugee camps and refugee-populated areas; the nexus between migration and asylum; the role of social networks in asylum migration; the reintegration of returning refugees in countries of origin, and refugee policies in Africa.

Dr Nienke Doornbos, University of Nijmegen

Instituut voor Rechtssociologie
Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen
Postbus 9049
6500 KK Nijmegen
Tel: +31 (0)24 3615533 b.g.g. 3612087
Fax: +31 (0)24 3611423
Email: N.Doornbos@jur.kun.nl

Research interests include communication in the Dutch asylum procedure; asylum statistics in the Netherlands and other EU countries, and refugees in transit to Europe

Hildegard Dumper, Consultant

Consultant in Voluntary & Public Sector Management
3 Vale Street
Bristol BS4 3BT
Tel: +44 (0)117 971 0686
Email: Hildegard.Dumper@btinternet.com

Research interests include the employment of refugees by refugee assisting NGOs in the EU; external evaluation of work being undertaken by leading refugee agencies working in the field of integration, such as RETAS, Asylum Aid and the Refugee Council; developing long term plans for organisations and advising others on taking their work with refugee women forward.

Howard Duncan, The Metropolis Project, Canada

Email: Howard.Duncan@9522apx.cina.cic.x400.gc.ca
Web: http://canada.metropolis.net/

In 1997, I joined the Metropolis Project (see below) as its International Project Director and now am its Deputy Head. I have concentrated on increasing the Project's benefits to the policy community by creating effective opportunities for direct and frank exchanges between researchers, practitioners, and policy makers, increasing Metropolis' geographic reach, and expanding the range of issues it confronts. I am also the head of the Metropolis International Secretariat.

Christian Dustmann, University College London

Department of Economics
University College London
Gower Street
London WC1E 6BT
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7679 5832
Fax: +44 (0) 20 7916 2775
Email: C.Dustmann@ucl.ac.uk

Research interests include the economics of temporary migration; economic assimilation and language, and issues relating to attitudes towards minorities and harassment.

Professor Tony Fielding, University of Sussex

Sussex Centre for Migration Research
University of Sussex
Arts C
Falmer
Brighton BN1 9SF
Email: A.J.Fielding@sussex.ac.uk

Research interests include the social mobilities of immigrant minorities in England and Wales 1971-91.

Don Flynn, Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI)

Email: Don@jcwi.org.uk

Dr Matthew Gibney, University of Oxford

University of Oxford
Refugee Studies Centre
Queen Elizabeth House
21 St. Giles Street
Oxford OX1 3LA
Tel: +44 (0)1865 270722
Email: matthew.gibney@qeh.ox.ac.uk

Research interests include the ethical and political issues raised by the grant of asylum in Western states and the constraints states face in removing and deporting rejected asylum seekers from their territory.

Dr Anthony Good, University of Edinburgh

Dept. of Social Anthropology
University of Edinburgh
Old College
South Bridge
Edinburgh EH8 9YL
Email: agood@bluenote.demon.co.uk

Research interests include examining the role of anthropologists and other expert witnesses in asylum appeals by South Asian asylum seekers in the UK, especially Sri Lankan Tamils, and assessing the role of both anthropological and medical evidence in these legal processes.

Ceri Gott, Economics and Resource Analysis Unit (ERA)

Email: ceri.gott@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Dr David Griffiths

Oxford Brookes University
Oxford OX3 0BP
Email: david.griffiths@brookes.ac.uk

Research interests include refugee integration and settlement; questions of cultural and ethnic identity in refugee groups; the effects of policies upon refugee settlement, and integration and developments in asylum policy at the national and EU levels.

Kate Handforth, UKCOSA

UKCOSA
9-17 St Albans Place
London N1 0NX
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7226 3762
Fax: +44 (0) 20 7226 3373
Email: enquiries@ukcosa.org.uk

UKCOSA: The Council for International Education (formerly the UK Council for Overseas Student Affairs) seeks to promote and protect the interests of international students in the UK. It provides information and advice directly to students on those matters that particularly affect them (most importantly immigration, and the system for determining course fees and eligibility for financial support), and to the professionals who work with them in educational institutions. UKCOSA uses its advice work to identify those issues of concern on which lobbying is required. All areas of immigration policy and practice are therefore of interest – including asylum, to the extent that many asylum seekers and those who have received decisions wish to access education.

UKCOSA does not have an ongoing research programme, but does produce ad hoc reports – most recently (July 2000), in conjunction with the Council for Education in the Commonwealth, a comprehensive review of international student mobility in the Commonwealth.

Dr Tim Hatton, University of Essex

Email: hatton@essex.ac.uk

Research interests include the causes and economic effects of international migration to and from Britain in the last 50 years.

Alison Harvey, Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture

Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture
96-98 Grafton Road
London NW5 3EJ
Email: alison@torturecare.org.uk
Web: http://www.torturecare.org.uk/

Medical Foundation research spans asylum issues; the practice of torture in the countries from which our clients come; clinical papers on torture, and in 1996 a borough by borough study in the UK of those deprived of benefits.

Margaret Hauser, University of Oxford

Refugee Studies Centre
Queen Elizabeth House
21 St. Giles Street
Oxford OX1 3LA
Tel: +44 (0) 1865 270724
Email: margaret.hauser@qeh.ox.ac.uk
Web: www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rsc/

Graeme Hopkins, Immigration and Nationality Policy Directorate (IND)

Room 1106, Apollo House
36 Wellesley Road
Croydon CR0 2AD
Tel: +44 (0) 20 8760 8783
Fax: +44 (0) 20 8760 8577
Email: graeme.hopkins@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Areas of responsibility: providing advice to Home Office Ministers on the development and implementation of positive immigration policies in the employment and business area.

Chris Hudson, Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND)

Director, Major Projects Team
3rd Floor, Leon House
233 High Street
Croydon CR0 9XT
Tel: +44(0)20 8760 1446
Email: chris.hudson@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Areas of responsibility: co-ordinating work on delivering the 2 + 4 targets, end-to-end asylum processes and other major asylum related projects which cut across IND

David Hudson, Refugee Council

Refugee Council
3-9 Bondway
London SW8 1SJ
Email: David.Hudson@RefugeeCouncil.org.uk

The Refugee Council has been a partner during a three year period in EU funded work looking at refugee integration in Europe. Within this field we have had a lead role on refugee employment issues. Much of the work has had a research /stocktaking function, looking at models of practice, identifying elements that are transferable transnationally, using this to seek to influence practice and policy whether between two member states or at an EU level. We see integration as a two-way process that is both multidimensional and long term, and which begins on arrival. We are interested in the following specific areas:

- *The EU 'immigration and asylum debate'*: in all areas of research re employment and integration in the UK to explore the close links but clear differences between the themes of integration, labour migration and European Asylum and Immigration policy;
- *The continuum between arrival and integration:* to explore this continuum, to study impact of the one on the other, particularly in relation to length of process;
- *Skills of refugees:* to research the viability of a UK (or EU wide) agreement on ways of holding a skills audit of newly arrived asylum seekers and refugees;
- *Age and qualifications on arrival:* a longitudinal survey to study the impact on later employment prospects of the age of arrival;
- *Successful integration paths:* to reflect through 'successful' refugees' own perceptions on pathways to integration that they have followed over a long period, especially related to employment;
- *UK integration strategy:* to compare the long term effects of the UK refugee integration strategy with more formally funded and individually focused integration programmes;
- *Refugees' active participation in the integration processes:* to study the level and effects of refugees' participation in the integration processes both on themselves as individuals or on refugee communities.

Professor David Ingleby, European Research Centre for Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER)

Department of Cross-Cultural Studies
Utrecht University, Postbus 80.140
3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands
Tel: +31 (0) 30 253 2979
Fax: +31 (0) 30 253 4733
Email: d.ingleby@fss.uu.nl

Research interests include the interculturalisation of mental health services and social care provisions, with a special focus on refugees and asylum seekers.

Immigration Law Practitioners' Association (ILPA)

Susan Rowlands
General Secretary
ILPA
Lindsey House
40-42 Charterhouse Street
London EC1 6JH
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7251 8383
Fax: +44 (0) 20 7251 8384
Email: info@ilpa.org.uk

ILPA's research programme arises from the commitment to the constitutional objectives of the Association, which are: to promote and improve the advising and representation of immigrants; to provide information to members on domestic and European immigration, refugee and nationality law; to secure a non-racist, non-sexist, just and equitable system of immigration, refugee and nationality law.

To achieve the first objective, ILPA researches current procedures, policy and statutes to produce information updates and best practice guides, particularly in the area of asylum applications and appeals procedures. ILPA also supports the work of the Refugee Women's Legal Group in the production of *Women Asylum Seekers: A legal handbook* (1998) and its successor, to be published shortly. A compilation of ministerial statements made during the passages of the 1993 and 1996 immigration acts and the Human Rights Act were published to assist practitioners in applying the new legislation. To achieve the second objective, ILPA researches UK and European legal developments and sets out their relevance to practitioners. Finally, the third objective: this is the area in which most of ILPA's research efforts have been concentrated. In the belief that policy on both a UK and European level should be based on sound research, ILPA, usually in collaboration with other organisations, and with the support of research foundations, produces reports that can inform and promote the achievement of a just and equitable system of immigration nationality refugee law. The reports are used by many organisations lobbying national governments and the European institutions. These include *Mind the Gap* (1998), *Promoting the health of refugees* (1998) *Providing Protection* (1997), *Breaking down the barriers: a report on the conduct of asylum interviews at ports* (ILPA 1999) and *The Amsterdam Proposals: The ILPA/MPG proposed directives on immigration and asylum* (ILPA/MPG 2000).

Naznin Islam, UNHCR

UNHCR
Millbank Tower
21-24 Millbank
London
SW1P 4PQ

Professor Daniele Joly, University of Warwick

Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL
Tel: +44 (0) 24 7652 2641
Email: crer.resources@warwick.ac.uk

Research interests include asylum policies in Europe; settlement policies and the social organisation and strategies of refugee groups in the country of exile, in particular development of the parameters of the new European asylum regimes and a typology of refugees; the question of return settlement policies, and a continuing study of European trends in asylum.

Dr Gareth Jones, London School of Economics

Department of Geography
London School of Economics
St. Clement's Building,
Houghton Street,
London WC2A 2AE
Email: G.A.Jones@lse.ac.uk

Dr Bill Jordan, Exeter University

Exeter University
Northcote House
The Queen's Drive
Exeter EX4 4QJ
Email: g.m.watson@exeter.ac.uk

Lynnette Kelly, University of Warwick

Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL
Email: errbr@snow.csv.warwick.ac.uk

Research interests include an examination of the way Bosnian refugees have settled in Britain, and the impact on them of the policies adopted by the agencies involved in the Bosnia Project (first that the refugees would form a community; and secondly that the best way to meet the needs of this community was through the creation of a formal community association which would empower the community members).

Professor Eleonore Kofman, Nottingham Trent University

Department of International Relations
Nottingham Trent University
Burton Street
Nottingham NG1 4BU
Email: eleonore.kofman@ntu.ac.uk

Research interests include gender and international migration in Europe, especially migrant women and exclusion and female skilled migration, and migrants and citizenship in the European Union.

Dr Maja Korac, University of Oxford

Senior Researcher
University of Oxford
Refugee Studies Centre
Queen Elizabeth House
21 St Giles Street
Oxford OX1 3LA
Email: maja.korac@qeh.ox.ac.uk

Research interests include the problems of integration of refugees and the gender dimension of refugee settlement, focusing on problems of differentiated rights of refugees and their impact on the process of refugee settlement and integration, and the integration of refugees fleeing conflicts involving ethnic division and the ways in which different policy contexts influence the way in which refugees cope with experiences of ethnic persecution caused by conflicts they had fled.

Dr Khalid Koser, University College London

Migration Research Unit
University College London
26 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AP
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7679 7564
Email: kkoser@geog.ucl.ac.uk

Research interests include the dissemination of information about destination countries to potential asylum seekers in their countries of origin and transit countries; the contribution of immigration to impending demographic and labour market gaps in the UK; and the role of assisted return programmes in facilitating the return of rejected asylum seekers. It compares the experiences of the Netherlands, France and Switzerland; a comparison of the experiences of Bosnians and Eritreans, focusing on the potential contribution of exile communities to post-conflict reconstruction in their home countries.

Trine Lester, Refugee Legal Centre

Refugee Legal Centre
Sussex House
39-45 Bermondsey Street
London SE1 3XF
Email: tlester@refugee-legal-centre.org.uk

Research interests include determination procedures – and particularly legal and gender aspects thereof – as well as support systems for asylum seekers and refugees; the legal services required by asylum seekers in the UK, how these are provided, and how such provision is affected by the new context of dispersal and support through vouchers as opposed to standard benefits.

Mina McElwain, Welsh Refugee Council

Social Worker (Asylum Seekers)
5 Gillian Road
Cardiff
CF5 2PZ
Tel: 02920 463848
02920 561083

Allison McGarrity, Legal Services Commission

Policy and Legal Department
Legal Services Commission
85 Gray's Inn Road
London WC1X 8TX
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7759 0467
Email: allison.mcgarrity@legalservices.gov.uk

Gillian McGregor, Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND)

Asylum Liaison Unit
36 Wellesley Road
5th Floor, Apollo House
Croydon CR9 3RR
Tel: +44 (0)20 8760 8710
Fax: +44 (0)20 8760 8747
Email: gilliane.mcgregor@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Areas of responsibility / interest:

- Asylum Removals: oversee asylum removals policy to ensure targets are met and assist in drawing up detailed proposals to achieve a reduction in the removals gap;
- Asylum Liaison Unit: review ALU structures and processes to ensure delivery of targets for removal of failed asylum seekers;

- Third Country Unit: commission analysis of the recourses that are applied to Article 15 enquiries and the accompanying removal rates;
- Briefings: timely and accurate briefings for Ministers and senior officers on port asylum and third country issues;
- Detention: monitor developments on detention policy and ensure that ISPD views are fed in to the current review process on the use of detention spaces.

THE METROPOLIS PROJECT

Web: http://www.canada.metropolis.net or http//:www.international.metropolis.net

The Metropolis Project is an international forum for comparative research and public policy development about population migration, cultural diversity and the challenges of immigrant integration in major cities around the world. The goal is to improve policies for managing migration and cultural diversity by:

- enhancing academic research capacity;
- academic research on critical policy issues and policy options;
- developing ways to facilitate the use of research in decision-making.

In Canada, a consortium of nine federal departments and agencies funded the project's initial six years (through March 2002). The four Centres of Excellence in Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver are each a partnership involving a total of 15 universities and several hundred affiliated researchers, graduate students and post-doctoral fellows.

Internationally, Metropolis involves policy makers and researchers from over 20 countries (including the United States, most of western Europe, Israel and Argentina and from the Asia-Pacific Region) and inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations (such as the European Commission, UNESCO, the International Centre for Migration Policy Development, the International Organization for Migration and the Migration Policy Group). The international project is currently co-chaired by the Executive Head of Metropolis, Meyer Burstein, and the Director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies at the University of Amsterdam, Rinus Penninx.

The Metropolis project team at Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada provides project leadership, co-ordination and strategic direction. Project activities to date include:

In Canada:

- More than 200 research projects completed or in progress;
- Each Centre of Excellence has hosted an annual major national conference;
- Five research domain seminars to identify priorities and focus research on important policy issues;
- Numerous research seminars and workshops.

Internationally:

- Five annual conferences attended by Ministers of national and state governments, mayors of cities, key academics, senior government officials and NGOs;
- Comparative policy-research seminars on topics like transnational communities, managing divided cities, labour market barriers, second generation immigrants and education;
- Comparative research projects with Great Britain, Germany, Australia, New Zealand, Italy and Israel on such topics like attitudes towards immigration and ethnic diversity, transnational communities, barriers to employment and other aspects of immigrant integration;
- Networks of policy makers, researchers, and non-governmental organisations.

Metropolis created an award winning, interactive network of websites, co-managed between universities and government agencies.

Nuala Mole and Nicola Rogers, AIRE Centre

AIRE Centre (Advice on Individual Rights in Europe)
74 Eurolink Business Centre
49 Effra Road
London SW2 1BZ
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7924 9233
Fax: +44 (0) 20 7733 6786
Email: aire@btinternet.com

The AIRE Centre is a legal advice centre specialising in European Community law and International Human Rights Law. It is the designated Euro-jus office of the UK representative of the European Commission. The Centre's advice and representation focuses mainly on free movement of persons under EU law. It is aware of the problems met by EU nationals, third country family members and others seeking to move around the Community. As part of its International Human Rights work the AIRE Centre provides representation before the European Court of Human Rights. The Centre has represented a large number of third country nationals who face expulsion from the UK.

Jennifer Monahan, Consultant

Email: jmonahan@netcomuk.co.uk

Research interests include the experience of seeking asylum in the UK through the eyes of asylum seekers, based on extended interviews in London and dispersal areas, both with asylum seekers and with people who work directly with them. A key focus is the impact of policies and practice on the health and mental health of asylum seekers- how those who fall outside the system can be given a legal status and become 'regularised'.

Professor Lydia Morris, University of Essex

Department of Sociology
University of Essex
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO3 4SQ
Email: morris@essex.ac.uk

Research interests include an examination of the different legal statuses available to third country nationals, the associated regimes of rights, and their relation to national systems of control in Germany, Italy and Britain.

John Morrison, Body Shop International

Head of Corporate Campaigns and International Affairs
The Body Shop International plc
Email: john.morrison@the-body-shop.com

Research interests include: the smuggling of refugees in Britain and the tension between international law (in particular the 1951 Refugee Convention) and the desire by Governments to manage refugee flows on a regional basis; the public perception of asylum-seekers in Europe and the role of leadership in helping to re-frame the current debate; the need for a full debate in Europe on managing all three migration streams in years to come: social, economic and humanitarian.

David Moxon, Research and Development Statistics (RDS)

Email: david.moxon@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Ruta Nimkar, Economics and Resource Analysis Unit (ERA)

Email: ruta.nimkar@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Toyin Okitikpi, Brunel University

Lecturer in Social Work
Centre for Black Professional Practice
Brunel University
Twickenham Campus
300 St. Margaret's Road
Twickenham
Middlesex TW1 1PT
Email: swsttto@brunel.ac.uk

Our general area of interest is the complexity of being a refugee and an asylum seeker not only in the UK but also in Europe. For example: welfare professionals' responses towards refugee children and their families; how the children and their families 'integrate' into the host society; what influences asylum seekers' and refugees' decisions to move to Britain from other European countries; the experiences of the children within the existing children and family welfare framework to look at the shortfalls in social work education and in teacher training courses and to consider how well prepared practitioners are in working with this group of people.

Dr David Owen, University of Warwick

Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL
Tel: +44(0) 24 7652 4259
Fax: +44(0) 24 7652 4324
Email: D.W.Owen@warwick.ac.uk
Web: http://www.warwick.ac.uk/~errac

Research interests include: a review of recent literature on asylum policy, with a particular focus on the UK; analysing the demographic, social and economic characteristics of people from minority ethnic groups, using data from the 1991 Census of Population; the experiences of people from minority ethnic groups in the labour market; the achievements of minority ethnic groups in education, training and employment; estimating the trend in international migration to the UK by ethnic group over time.

Anne Owers, JUSTICE

59 Carter Lane
London EC4V 5AQ
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7329 5100
Email: aowers@justice.org.uk

Research interests include: fair and effective asylum determination systems (including comparative material from other jurisdictions), and in particular ways of 'front-loading' systems in order to provide sustainable and fair initial decisions (following from the *Providing protection* report 1997); detention under Immigration Act powers: its current use and compatibility with Articles 5 and 14 ECHR in relation to on-entry detention in particular; development of common European asylum policies, on criteria, procedures, settlement and complementary forms of protection and their relationship to current law and practice in member states; support arrangements in the UK, and in particular their compatibility with ECHR rights; proposals for new developments in asylum policy and practice, at international (UNHCR), European (EU) and domestic level.

Jon Payne, Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND)

European Asylum Policy Unit
6th Floor, Advance House
15 Wellesley Road
Croydon CR9 3LY
Tel: +44 (0)20 8760 3476
Fax: +44 (0)20 8760 3129
Email: jon.payne@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Areas of responsibility:

- UK delegate to the Asylum Working Group, Brussels;
- Responsible for UK contribution to the development of EU asylum policy, including:
  - establishing new Community legislation to establish minimum standards in asylum procedures, the reception of asylum seekers and qualification as a refugee;
  - establishing new Community legislation on responsibility for asylum seekers, to replace the Dublin Convention;
  - working towards the development of a common European asylum system

Professor Ceri Peach, University of Oxford

School of Geography
Mansfield Road
Oxford University
Oxford
Email: ceri.peach@geog.ox.ac.uk

Research interests include immigration in general, but particularly minority ethnic populations in Britain, Europe and North America; the relationship between economic cycles in Britain and immigration; levels of residential segregation of minority ethnic populations and the impact of such patterns on social interaction.

Dr Steve Peers, University of Essex

Department of Law
Wivenhoe Park
Colcester
CO4 3SQ
Email: speers@essex.ac.uk

Bernard Perchinig, European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research

European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research
Berggasse 17
A-1090 Vienna
Tel: +43 (0) 1319 4505 0
Fax: +43 (0) 1319 450519
Email: ec@euro.centre.org
Web: http://www.euro.centre.org

The European Centre is

- an international social science research, policy, and information centre; and
- an intergovernmental organisation on social welfare, affiliated to the United Nations.

The Centre is a non-profit research organisation. It covers a number of programme areas: Dialogues in Social Theory and Policy-making; Creating a European Social Space; International Migration, Social Integration and Human Rights; Health and Welfare; Ageing, Care Policies, and Social Services; Childhood and Youth, Social Policy Modelling and the European Centre Information Centre. Its main purpose is to promote international cooperation in the fields of work, welfare, social security, health, care and social development by providing research, policy expertise, international dialogue and know-how transfer, policy concertation, consultancy, an information centre/databases, publications and modeling

Over the last years, the European Centre's Migration Unit has focused primarily on questions of integration of immigrants rather than migration as such, and it plans to further strengthen this focus in the future. The following activities will characterise the work of the unit within the next few years:

- Continuation of research in the field of legal integration;
- Research to strengthen comparability of integration-relevant data;
- Comparative research on antidiscrimination-policies.

Charles Pinkerton, University College London

Migration Research Unit
Dept. of Geography
University College London
26 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AP
Email: cpinkerton@geog.lse.ac.uk

Stephen Pittam, Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust

Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust
Garden House
Water Road
York YO30 6YP
Email: sep@jrct.org.uk

Frances Platel, National Asylum Support Service (NASS)

Policy and Process
Voyager House
30 Wellesley Road
Croydon CRO 2AD
Tel: +44 (0)20 8633 0142
Email: frances.platel2@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Areas of responsibility: asylum seekers and education and employment. Any research, particularly on how other countries approach asylum seeker issues, is potentially useful to our policy section

Christophe Prince, Immigration and Nationality Policy Directorate (IND)

Room 1101, Apollo House
36 Wellesley Road
Croydon CR9 3RR
Tel: +44 (0)20 8760 8633
Fax: +44 (0)20 8760 8577
Email: christophe.prince@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Areas of responsibility:

- co-ordination of cross-departmental migration group;
- developing and assessing policies leading to economic activity in the UK

Areas of interest:

- migration routes leading to economic activity (including high- and low- skilled, temporary/permanent);
- work permits;
- students.

Nikki Redmond, Intelligence Service, Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND)

Status 3, Nobel Drive
Harlington
MiddlesexUB3 5EY
Tel: +44 (0)20 8745 2423
Fax: +44 (0)20 8745 1655
Email: nicola.redmond@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Areas of interest: impact of EU enlargement on the UK and motivations of illegal immigrants, but I am also the national trafficking co-ordinator for IS. Being within the Strategic Intelligence Section of INDIS, I am required to have a strategic overview of these subject areas.

Lucy Rix, Kalayaan

Email: kalayaanuk@aol.com

Dr Keri Roberts, University of York

Research Fellow
Social Policy Research Unit
University of York
Heslington, York YO10 5DD
Tel: +44 (0) 1904 433608
Fax: +44 (0) 1904 433618
Email: kr5@york.ac.uk

Research interests include: refugee resettlement, particularly in relation to health and social care and 'vulnerable' groups; current research project – *Disabled refugees in Britain: entitlements to and needs for social and welfare services*

Sean Roberts, and Jan Shaw, Amnesty International UK

Amnesty International UK
99 Rosebery Avenue
London EC1R 4RE
Email: sean.roberts@amnesty.org.uk
jan.shaw@amnesty.org.uk

Amnesty International undertakes ongoing commentary on a broad range of 'refugee protection' issues. For example, our annual 'Human Rights Audit' of UK government performance contains a wide-ranging consideration of issues of concern which runs to around 7,000 words. At the planning stage is a report examining the different reasons why asylum applications are unsuccessful - intended to demonstrate the difference between 'unsuccessful asylum applicant' (as shown in HO statistics) and so-called 'bogus' or 'abusive' asylum seekers.

Dr Vaughan Robinson, University of Wales Swansea

Geography Department
University of Wales Swansea
Singleton Park
Swansea SA2 8PP
Email: V.Robinson@swansea.ac.uk

Rachel Rogers, Law Society

Policy Adviser - Immigration and Legal Aid
Law Society
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7320 5815
Fax: +44 (0) 20 7320 5974
Email: rachel.rogers@lawsociety.org.uk

The Law Society has a significant interest in law reform issues including law relating to immigration, nationality and asylum. The Society's main research interest is in the impact of changes in immigration and asylum policy and procedures on the day to day work of solicitors, the legal process and access to justice.

Elizabeth Ruddick, Citizenship and Immigration, Canada

Strategic Research and Review
Email: Elizabeth.Ruddick@8754bss.cina.cic.x400.gc.ca

Sharon Rusu, University of Oxford

Email: srusu@digitalsmile.com

Sandy Ruxton, OXFAM

OXFAM
274 Banbury Road,
Oxford,
0X2 7DZ
Email: sruxton@oxfam.org.uk

Dr Rosemary Sales, University of Middlesex

School of Social Sciences
University of Middlesex
White Harte Lane
London N17 8HR
Tel: +44 (0) 20 8362 5000
Email: r.sales@mdx.ac.uk

Research interests include the integration of gender into the study of migration, and the needs of refugees and migrants in London.

Professor John Salt, University College London

Migration Research Unit
University College London
26 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AP
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7679 5525
Email: jsalt@geog.ucl.ac.uk

Research interests include patterns and trends in international migration in Europe generally and particularly in labour migration by the highly skilled.

Professor Saskia Sassen, London School of Economics

Faculty Professor
London School of Economics
Houghton Street
London WC2
Email: s.sassen@lse.ac.uk

Marion Schmid, Kings College London

King's College London
Hampstead Campus
Kidderpore Avenue
London NW3 7ST
Email: marionschmid@gmx.net

Research interests include comparative immigration law of the EU Member States in the perspective of a European immigration law, including for example:

– conditions for entry and residence of third country nationals
– illegal immigration and residence
– asylum provisions
– provisions for displaced persons

Dr Liza Schuster, London School of Economics

Department of Sociology
London School of Economics
Houghton St.
London WC2A 2AE
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7955 7648
Email: L.K.Schuster@lse.ac.uk

Research interests include: the interplay between policies relating to citizenship, migration and the in/exclusion of minority groups and migrants in Europe; the development of policy, legislation and practice in relation to asylum in a number of European countries and at EU level, using a comparative approach; the links made and assumed in public and political discourse between asylum seekers and welfare.

Professor David Seddon, University of East Anglia

University of East Anglia
School of Development Studies
Norwich NR4 7TJ
Email: j.d.seddon@uea.ac.uk

Research interests include: international migration and immigration policies as political-economic issues of increasing importance in a context of increasing economic 'globalisation' as regards free movement of capital and commodities, but arguably hardening political and ideological positions on the movement and rights of labour; migration from 'eastern Europe' and the former Soviet Union to 'western Europe'; international labour migration in the Asian region, with particular focus recently on South Asia and Nepal.

Dr Andrew Shacknove, University of Oxford

University of Oxford
Faculty of Law,
Dept. of Continuing Education,
Wellington Square,
Oxford, OX1 2JA
Email: andrew.shacknove@kellogg.ox.ac.uk

Lorna Smith, Immigration and Community Unit (ICU)

Email: lorna.smith@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Dr John Solomos, Southbank University

Southbank University
Sociology and Social Policy,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
103 Borough Road,
London SE1 0AA
Email: solomjn@sbu.ac.uk

Sarah Spencer, Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)

Director, Citizenship and Governance Programme
Institute for Public Policy Research
30-32 Southampton Street
London WC2E 7RA
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7470 6150 Direct
Fax: +44 (0 20 7470 6111
Email: Sasippr@aol.com
Web: http://www.ippr.org.uk/

The Institute for Public Policy Research conducts policy research on a broad range of issues including migration. It focuses on the economic and social impact of migration and argues for evidence based policy

making, soundly based in empirical research. IPPR's current focus is on the fiscal impact of migration; the need for skilled labour, its impact on the employment of minorities in the UK and the impact of that outward migration on minorities in developing countries; the implications of the demand for unskilled labour; the social and cultural impact of migration, including the effect which post-entry controls have on social inclusion; the governance of migration in Whitehall, the impact of developments at the EU, and the factors which influence public opinion.

Fiona Steele, Queen Mary University of London

Email: f.steele@qmw.ac.uk

Tom Steinberg, Institute of Economic Affairs

Institute of Economic Affairs
2 Lord North Street,
London SW1P 3LB

Dallal Stevens, University of Warwick

School of Law
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL
Tel: +44 (0) 24 765 23289
Fax: +44 (0) 24 765 24105
Email: D.E.Stevens@warwick.ac.uk

Research interests include the migration of the Roma to the UK: this project will examine the reasons for recent migration from Romania to the UK, using Transylvania as a case-study.

Hugo Storey, Immigration Appellate Authority

Immigration Appeal Tribunal
IAT, Taylor House
88 Rosebury Avenue
Islington
London EC1R 4QU
Email: HugoHS30@aol.com

Barry Stoyle, Refugee Legal Centre (RLC)

Refugee Legal Centre
Sussex House
39-45 Bermondsey Street
London SE1 3XF
Email: Bstoyle@refugee-legal-centre.org.uk

Kirsteen Tait, Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR)

Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR)
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7848 2730/2731
Fax: +44 (0) 20 7848 2748
Email: ktait_refugeepolicies@hotmail.com

The Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR) aims first to be an authoritative, independent and politically neutral information resource on asylum and refugees in the UK for all interested individuals and bodies. Secondly, it will collect and analyse information from a wide range of sources, including government, refugee agencies and universities in order to disseminate a series of 'Findings' on issues of public concern. In this way it intends to both raise the level of public debate about refugees and asylum as they affect the UK and support evidence-based policy-making.

Dr Robert Thomas, University of Manchester

School of Law
University of Manchester
Oxford Road
Manchester M13 9PL
Email: Robert.Thomas@man.ac.uk

Research interests include the role of law in asylum policy and the determination process, particularly the role performed by the courts in asylum policy and the impact of their rulings for bureaucrats, politicians and applicants alike.

Transnational Communities (ESRC Research Programme), University of Oxford

In 1997 the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) launched a £3.8 million national research programme on the subject of Transnational Communities. The Programme, of which Dr. Steven Vertovec (see below) is Director, is set to continue until the end of August 2002. Nineteen projects have been commissioned for the Programme. Some of these are within a single discipline, but most link several disciplines. Over 60 researchers, based at a number of British universities, are engaged in the projects involving collaborative, multi-site research throughout the world.

An integrated programme has a number of advantages over a set of single studies. It maps and analyses in an orchestrated manner a variety of processes and phenomena necessary to theoretical and policy development. These include: different kinds of transnational socio-cultural, economic and political relations; new uses and content of communications and media technology among migrant groups; common patterns of transnationalism among different ethnic groups, and divergent ones among the same group in different contexts; transnationalism within different socio-economic classes (from domestic workers to financial experts and corporate executives); and how transnational patterns and processes are affected by differential regulatory structures (including national immigration policy and international law).

Information on the projects and all other aspects of the research programme can be found on the website (http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/).

Rob van der Erf, Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI)

Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI)
Lange Houtstraat 19
PO Box 11650
The Hague NL2511CV
Zuid Holland
The Netherlands
Email: erf@nidi.nl

Research interests include availability, reliability and international comparability of asylum and international migration statistics; special interest in the cohort approach of asylum statistics; plans for future work include: further improvement of asylum and migration statistics; more emphasis on asylum decisions, and integration of cohort-based asylum statistics.

Dr Joanne van Selm, Institute for the Study of International Migration

Georgetown University
3307 M Street NW
Suite 302
Washington DC 20007
Email: jv27@gunet.georgetown.edu

Research interests include external implications of asylum and immigration policy at the EU level; an analysis of the future of 'temporary protection' in the light of the May 2000 Commission proposal, and linked to the rejuvenation or wider use of the 1951 Convention; and a project looking at the range of 'moments' at which security concerns and refugee issues coincide.

Dr Steven Vertovec, ESRC Transnational Communities Research Programme

Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology
University of Oxford
51 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 6PE
Tel: +44 (0) 1865 274711
Fax: +44 (0) 1865 274718
Email: steven.vertovec@anthro.ox.ac.uk

Research interests include globalisation; international migration and transnationalism; ethnicity; Hinduism and Islam; religious minorities; multiculturalism.

Dr David Walsh, Glasgow Caledonian University

Dept of Social Sciences
Glasgow Caledonian University
Cowcaddens Road
Glasgow G4 0BA
Email: D.Walsh@gcal.ac.uk

Research interests include assessing the experiences of asylum seekers who are currently being dispersed to Scotland and examining whether long-term resettlement is a realistic possibility.

Iain Walsh, Asylum Policy Unit, IND

7th Floor, Advance House
15 Wellesley Road
Croydon CR9 3LY
Tel: +44 (0)20 8760 3458
Email: iain.walsh@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Areas of interest:

- all issues relevant to the fair and effective processing of applications for asylum and other forms of protection. Also interested in how policies in one part of the asylum process (eg consideration of claims) impact on other areas (eg the appeals stage and removals);
- also involved in international asylum issues, in particular the so-called 'Lisbon agenda' put forward by the Home Secretary for developing a more rational and effective international effective regime, and UNHCR's global consultations.

Dr Charles Watters, University of Kent

Lecturer in Mental Health
Tizard Centre
University of Kent
Canterbury CT2 7NZ
Email: c.watters@ukc.ac.uk

Research interests include comparative studies of the interface between refugees and social care agencies in Europe including: study of Somali communities in the UK and

Sweden and the UK and US, study of the interface between social and health care agencies and refugees and undocumented migrants in the UK and France, comparative studies of refugees and mental health care in Europe, international study of the impact of policies of deterrence on the mental health of asylum seekers; comparative studies of the mental health and social care of asylum seekers and refugees in the UK, Netherlands and Sweden; examining the pathways into and out of mental health care for asylum seekers in the UK; an evaluation of the `Breathing Space' mental health project; research on the development of Refugee Community Organisations in the UK, social support and social networks among asylum seekers and refugees in East Kent; developing research on racial attack on asylum seekers in the UK.

Dr Leanne Weber, University of Cambridge

Email: lw203@cus.cam.ac.uk

Research interests include research that spans criminology and human rights, and the enforcement of internal immigration controls.

Dr Stephen Wheatley-Price, Leicester University

Department of Economics,
Leicester University
University Road
Leicester LE1 7RH
Tel: +44 (0) 116 252 5645
Email: swp2@le.ac.uk
Web: www.le.ac.uk/economics/swp2/

Professor Paul White, University of Sheffield

Department of Geography
University of Sheffield
Sheffield
S10 2TN
Tel: +44 (0) 114 222 7948
Fax: +44 (0) 114 279 7912
Email: p.white@sheffield.ac

Research interests include experiences of refugees or asylum seekers in Britain. The principal issues include identity, adjustment, and entry into the British labour force; settlement issues in migrant communities – Sri Lankans in Britain; Japanese in Britain and Germany; British in France. An overall survey of developed world migrants in London has also been undertaken; elderly migrants - shifting identities amongst older people who were migrants in their youth have been (or are being) explored amongst Italians in Britain and France, and amongst older Pakistani women in Britain; the emergence of transnational circles of consumption associated with commodity hybridisation – in particular relating to South Asian businesses in Britain and the production of 'ethnic' goods.

Richard Williams, Refugee Council

richard.williams@refugeecouncil.org.uk

Carole Willis, Economics and Resource Analysis Unit (ERA)

carole.willis@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Wondimu Yohannes, Refugee Action

Refugee Action
240a Clapham Road
London
SW9 0PZ
Tel: 020 7735 5361

Professor Roger Zetter, Oxford Brookes University

Deputy Head
School of Planning
Oxford Brookes University
Oxford OX3 0BP
Tel: +44 (0) 1865-483925
Fax: +44 (0) 1865-483559
Email: rwzetter@brookes.ac.uk
Web: http://www.brookes.ac.uk/schools/planning

Research interests include the institutional and policy dimensions of refugee aid and the impact of assistance on refugees.

Aslan Zorlu, University of Amsterdam

Department of Economics
University of Amsterdam
Roetersstraat 11
1018 WB Amsterdam-the Netherlands
Tel: +31 (0) 20 5254189
Fax: +31 (0) 20 5254254
Email: zorlu@fee.uva.nl

Research interests include social and economical impact of immigration on receiving countries; identifying (labour market) disadvantages of ethnic minorities; searching determinants of these disadvantages; measuring performance of ethnic minorities in schooling and labour market.

Annex 4: Immigration Research and Statistics Service contacts

Peter Ward
Head of IRSS
Room 1308
Apollo House
36 Wellesley Road
Croydon
CR9 3RR
Tel: 020 8760 8358

Immigration and Asylum Research

Provide research on immigration and asylum issues.

Head of Section: Heaven Crawley

	Phone 020.8760
Heaven Crawley	8288
Colin Gale	8274
Verity Gelsthorpe	8398
Samantha Gordon-Harris	8272
Jennifer Hill	8079
Peter Ilmolelian	8344
Beverley Morgan	8285
Martin Wood	8328
Fax	8364

Asylum and Appeals Statistics

Produce and maintain timely and accurate statistical information on asylum and appeals in the UK, and provide international comparisons of asylum figures in Europe.

Head of Section: David Matz

	Phone 020.8760
David Matz	8361
Robin Edwards	8349
Tina Heath	8323
Rachel Hill	8297
Daniel Howard	8302
Hannah Lockley	8310
Fax	8364

Immigration and Enforcement Statistics

Provide statistical analysis on entry clearance, admissions, extensions, settlement, citizenship, enforcement, detention and international migration.

Head of Section: Melanie McCready

	Phone 020.8760
Melanie McCready	8307
Barry Bardwell-Snow	8341
Philip Danzelman	8351
Jill Dudley	8291
Paul Harvey	8280
Krys Hesketh	8289
Jim Fidler	8320
Paul Lucas	8058
Rod McGregor	8289
Paramjit Sandhu	8515
Fax	8364

Asylum Support and Integration Research and Statistics*

Provides research and statistical analysis and advice for the National Asylum Support Service (NASS)

Head of Section: Lesley Duff

	Phone 020.8633
Lesley Duff	0059
Simon Brown	0062
Andrea Eagle	0060
Alice Kasakula	0063
Janis Makarewich	0056
Deborah Platts	0055
Carolyne Tah	0061
Anna Taylor	0057
Fax	0079

Apollo House	*Voyager House
36 Wellesley Road	30 Wellesley Road
Croydon	Croydon
CR9 3RR	CR0 2AD
Email addresses	firstname.surname@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Annex 5: Evaluation Form

Home Office
BUILDING A SAFE, JUST AND TOLERANT SOCIETY

Bridging the Information Gaps Conference Evaluation Form

The Home Office is keen to build on the conference and continue to develop information-sharing. To help us in this, please take a few minutes to answer the questions below by ticking the appropriate boxes/circles and writing in your comments.

1. Regarding your work in migration, asylum or integration, how valuable has the conference been for you overall?

○ Very valuable ○ Quite valuable ○ Not very valuable ○ Not at all valuable

2. What was the most valuable aspect or outcome of the conference for you? (Write in)

3. In your view, in what way, if any, did the conference fail to fulfil its potential? (Write in)

The aims of this conference were to stimulate interest in the programme of research being developed by the Home Office in the areas of immigration, asylum and integration, and to facilitate increased information-sharing among academics, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Home Office researchers.

4. How relevant were the aims of the conference to your work?

○ Very relevant ○ Quite relevant ○ Not very relevant ○ Not at all relevant

5. How successful was the conference in achieving each of the following aims?

	Very successful	Quite successful	Not very successful	Not at all successful
Clearly setting out the Home Office programme of research work	❑	❑	❑	❑
Facilitating information-sharing between you and the Home Office	❑	❑	❑	❑
Facilitating information sharing between you and NGOs / researchers outside the Home Office	❑	❑	❑	❑

6. How valuable did you consider each of the following aspects of the day to be?

	Very valuable	Quite valuable	Not very valuable	Not at all valuable
Presentations by Home Office officials	❑	❑	❑	❑
Keynote papers from researchers outside the Home Office	❑	❑	❑	❑
Workshops	❑	❑	❑	❑
Closing plenary session	❑	❑	❑	❑
Networking opportunities throughout the day	❑	❑	❑	❑

7. How relevant to your work were the topic areas that were covered in the workshops?

○ Very relevant ○ Quite relevant ○ Not very relevant ○ Not at all relevant

8. If there was a topic that was not covered in the workshops that you feel should have been, please write in what this was.

_____

9. How would you rate each of the following organisational aspects of the conference?

	Very good	Quite good	Adequate	Quite poor	Very poor
Administration prior to the event	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Organisation during the event	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
The venue and its facilities	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Lunch & refreshments during the day	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Conference pack materials	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

10. Those attending the conference, among others, will be made aware of Home Office publications and events via an email distribution list. What else could researchers in the Home Office do that would be particularly useful for facilitating information-sharing? Choose more than one answer if you wish.

☐ Hold another conference of a similar type

☐ Hold seminars/workshops on topics relevant to the Home Office research programme

☐ Something else (write in) _____

11. Any other comments you have would be very welcome. Please write them here.

_____

_____

_____

_____

12. What is your organisation / role?

○ UK academic ○ IND ○ Other Government ○ NGO

○ Non-UK academic ○ Other Home Office ○ Government (non-UK) ○ Other (write in) _____

Your name (feel free to leave this blank) _____

Thank you for your time. Please return to: Martin Wood, IRSS, Room 1309, Apollo House 36 Wellesley Road, Croydon, London, CR9 3RR, UK.